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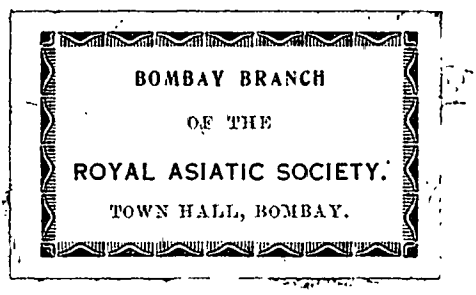

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ESSAYS

BIOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND MISCELLANEOUS

CONTRIBUTED CHIEFLY TO THE

EDINBURGH AND QUARTERLY REVIEWS.

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BY THE

REV. G. R. GLEIG, M.A.

CHAPLAIN-GENERAL TO HER MAJESTY'S FORCES, AND
PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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" Voces, ut chordæ sunt intentæ, quæ ad quemque tactum respondeant, acuta, gravis, cita, tarda, magna, parvæ; quas tamen inter omnes est, suo quæque in genere, mediocris."

CICERO.

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ESSAYS.

THE PURITANS.*

THE rise of what came afterwards to be known as Puritanism in England dates from the very dawn of the Reformation. Our early British schoolmen never spared either the vices of the clergy or the pomp of their ritual services. Wickliffe and the Lollards were on nothing more severe than on the assumption of sacerdotal powers and sacerdotal habits by a Christian ministry. And in Henry VIII.'s time an impulse of change was no sooner given than its tendencies leant all towards extremes.

* From the "Edinburgh Review" for Jan. 1855.

1. *The History of the Early Puritans, from the Reformation to the Opening of the Civil War in* 1640. By J. B. MARSDEN, M.A. Second Edition.

2. *The History of the Later Puritans, from the Opening of the Civil War, in* 1642, *to the Ejection of the Nonconforming Clergy in* 1662. By J. B. MARSDEN, M.A.

Had the direction of this impulse been the same in England as elsewhere, we should have doubtless lived at this day under an ecclesiastical system very different from that which now prevails among us. But here the Court, not the people, took the lead; and the Court (fortunately for us) exercised its influence rather to restrain than to press forward ecclesiastical changes. Hence the retention among us of an episcopal form of Church government, which had interwoven itself into the political constitution of the State, — of much of the pomp and ceremony of the old worship, — of the civil law, with its courts and innumerable abuses, — and of a liturgy unrivalled in beauty, though taken to a large extent from that of Rome, ere Rome had fallen into the depths of superstition. Had the people forced the Court into a secession from the Romish Church, not one of these things would, in all probability, have been retained.

The Reformed Church of England, as Henry VIII. settled it, was a sort of bastard Popery — Popery without the Pope. Its confession of faith remained substantially the same as it had been previously to the rupture. Its hierarchy retained all their former power, with much of their original pride and wealth. Its public worship was con-

ducted upon the ancient principle, and in the Latin language. Instead of seeking authority to exercise their functions from the Roman See, the bishops took out licences from the Crown, and the King became what the Pope used to be — Supreme Head of the Church upon earth. Such a Reformation satisfied nobody. The Papists abhorred it because of the rent occasioned in the veil of the temple; the Protestants were dissatisfied with it as relieving their consciences from none of the burdens under which they had long groaned. With the accession of Edward VI. a new era came in. Born of a Protestant mother, educated under Protestant guardians, this young prince naturally threw himself into the movement, and pushed forward the work of Reform with as much earnestness as was consistent with due regard to order in the State. He failed, indeed, to keep pace with the wishes of such (and they constitute, perhaps, the majority of reformers in all ages) as, in their zeal to accomplish a favourite end, overlook the necessity of caution in the selection of means. But his measures bore the stamp throughout of that true wisdom which is more intent on achieving a good that shall be permanent than on attaining it quickly. In his day many of the most offensive of

the Romish services were abolished. A new book of Common Prayer was compiled; new articles of religion were published; the churches were purged of images and pictures; and the Scriptures freely circulated in an English version. Great efforts were likewise made to promote sound learning in the Universities. Heretofore neither Hebrew nor Greek had found favour in these seats of the Muses. Indeed the well known proverb "Cave Græcos ne fias hæreticus" had been religiously acted up to so recently as the times of Collet and Stafford. The Regency (for Edward himself was but a child) took vigorous steps to remedy this evil, and invited over Peter Martyr and Bucer to fill the chairs of Divinity, the one in Oxford the other in Cambridge. For all this they received the hearty commendation of the leading Reformers, both of the Continent and of Scotland, between whom and our own Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Parkhurst, the correspondence was frequent, and of the most confidential nature. Still the leaven of Puritanism continued to work. At a moment when projects were actually on foot for uniting all the Reformed Churches into one — when the Episcopal Church of England was selecting for its theological teachers divines ordained to the ministry by Presbyters—when the Presbyterian

Churches of Germany and Switzerland were considering the readiest means of receiving again the Episcopate from England—when all were convinced that it is neither in ceremonies nor in ordinances, but in the profession of a common faith and a common charity, that true Church-union consists—at this very moment restless spirits were putting in jeopardy, not the peace of the Church of England alone, but the great cause of the Reformation itself, by their bitter hostility to trifles. These men—to whom by and by the nick-name of Puritan came to be applied—seemed to have borne, without impatience, a good deal that was really objectionable, both in the national creed and in the national worship. But the retention of copes, stoles, rotchets, and so forth—garments polluted, as they expressed it, by the idolatrous uses to which they were once applied—was, in their opinion, a crying sin; and sooner than be participators in it they were ready to suffer or to inflict martyrdom, according to the turn which the wheel of fortune might take.

To John Hooper—a man of unfeigned piety, but of prejudices stronger considerably than his judgment—the credit attaches of giving the first decided impulse to the vestiarian controversy. He had been

forced, in the previous reign, on account of his adoption of the Reformed doctrines, twice to escape to the Continent; and returning soon after the accession of Edward, he was, through the interest of John Earl of Arundel, nominated, in 1550, to the see of Gloucester. He refused to become a bishop, unless his conscience might be relieved by dispensing both with the oath of supremacy and with the habits. On the former point the King himself is said to have interfered in Hooper's favour. The oath, which used to run, "In the name of God, of the Saints, and of the Holy Gospels," the young King altered with his own hand; but on the subject of the Episcopal habit Cranmer could not be moved, and the King and the Protector, though equally willing to give way, yielded to the Primate's influence. And now began a series of acts the records of which fill us with astonishment. Hooper was warned, reasoned with, and admonished. He refused to be made a bishop except on his own terms, and was cast into prison. Then came forward Bucer and Martyr, to entreat, in the names of the Reformed continental Churches, that the point might be yielded. At last Hooper's scruples so far gave way that he consented to wear at consecration the robes usually worn by bishops elect on such

occasions. But it is doubtful whether he ever appeared in them again. And, as usually happens—particularly when the public mind is in a state of transition on important matters—he became forthwith an object of admiration to many and of imitation to not a few.

There can be little doubt that the tendency of the Church during Edward's reign was downwards. Had he survived a few years longer, and his policy undergone no change, in England, as well as in Germany and Scotland, a Church would have probably been established, moderately Calvinistic in its abstract faith, and Presbyterian in its constitution and forms of public worship. The early death of the King put a stop to all this, and led to a revolution even more surprising, because more sudden and complete, than that which, with all his power, Henry had succeeded in effecting. Without a struggle — we had almost said without a remonstrance — the people of England, at Mary's bidding, relapsed into Popery. There had been two formidable rebellions in her father's day, directed avowedly against the new order of things in religion. There was no movement at all in defence of Protestantism when she reintroduced the old system. For even Sir Thomas Wyatt's rising in Kent had

much more connexion with the Spanish marriage than with the bringing back of ancient creeds and customs. This consequence, however, followed Mary's movement. Almost all who remained true to the Reformed faith became deeply imbued with Puritanical doctrines. They had borne with impatience the discipline enforced by Protestant bishops under a Protestant government. They learned, by witnessing a continuance of the same system under a Popish government, to associate the idea of persecution more with the Episcopal than with the Regal office. And events had occurred which, by connecting this prejudice with the rights of Mary and her sister to the succession, stirred up in them feelings out of which much evil was destined by and by to arise. It will be borne in mind that on the death of Edward an attempt was made to seat the Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, in virtue of a will which the dying King was understood to have drawn up through zeal for the maintenance of true religion in the land. Lady Jane Grey became in consequence the idol of all who thought deeply and were ready to do or to suffer much for the cause of the Reformation. Upon them, therefore, not without reason, the suspicion fell that they cared infinitely more for certain religious dogmas and

customs than for keeping the rightful line upon the throne; and the belief so created did not cease to operate till long after the misfortune against which the Howards had conspired to guard had been removed.

We have nothing to do in this essay with the Marian era or its persecutions. Both passed away, and on the 18th November, 1558, Elizabeth ascended the vacant throne. In the January following the ceremony of her coronation took place, and in passing towards Westminster Abbey an English Bible was presented to her at Paul's Cross, which she pressed, with the appearance of great devotion, to her breast. There is no reason to suppose that Elizabeth was guilty of the slightest hypocrisy in this. Like her brother, she was sprung from a Protestant mother. Her claim to be treated as rightful heir to the throne rested entirely on the validity of the divorce which Protestant divines had pronounced. She would have been untrue to the memory of her mother, and unjust to herself, had she swerved from the faith to which, in some degree, even Anne Boleyn may be said to have died a martyr. Nevertheless, Elizabeth soon discovered that her position, as Queen of England, was one of much delicacy and more danger. It

was impossible to deny that a great majority of her subjects, including, perhaps, seven-eighths of the clergy, with a considerable number of the nobility, were attached to the religion of Rome. The remainder seemed to be divided, perhaps in nearly equal proportions, between what afterwards became Protestantism of the High Church school and Puritanism. But there was this difference between them. The Puritans made no secret of their determination, as soon as power came into their hands, of avenging the wrongs inflicted upon the saints, by rooting Popery out of the land. The High Church party professed to seek no more than the re-establishment of the true Reformed Church, and made even that point secondary to the profession of personal attachment to the sovereign. There is no telling what course the Queen might have adopted, had not Pope Paul, an old man, received the messenger, whom she sent to announce to him her accession, in a manner which at once offended her woman's pride and wounded her queenly dignity. To adopt the Romanists after this, would be to commit power into the hands of those who would probably turn it against herself. On the other hand, she shrank from committing herself with the extreme Protestant party, the ascendancy of which

would lead at once to a rebellion. She therefore threw herself into the arms of the High Church faction, in the belief that, by balancing one extreme against another, she would be able to neutralise the hostility of both, and to govern quietly.

It is due to the memory of this illustrious princess to observe, that she was guided to this conclusion by the advice of the leaders of the Reformation on the Continent. These truly great men had looked on with sorrow, while the Reformed Church of England engaged, under her brother, in an internecine strife about questions of dress, ceremony, and ritual. They had witnessed the continuance of this conflict even after persecutions had driven the representatives of the rival factions into exile; and now taking into account the critical condition both of Church and of State, they counselled the Queen to follow the dictates rather of a wise expediency, than of a narrow prejudice. The sum of their argument was this. The great object to be aimed at is, the establishment, with as little delay as possible, of Protestant government in England. Undoubtedly it were better — would circumstances admit of it — to discard the remnants of Popish customs and habits, and to assimilate the English Church, in all respects, to the Reformed Con-

tinental Churches. But habits, and even customs, up to a certain point, are in themselves indifferent; and the continuance or discontinuance of things indifferent in a religious point of view, but politically important, must be left to the determination not of the clergy, but of the sovereign.

Elizabeth no sooner felt herself secure on the throne than she avowed her determination to restore to the Church the constitution which belonged to it in the reign of her brother. In one respect, indeed, she diverged from his policy and from that of her father. In restoring the deprived bishops to their sees, and appointing others, she refused to treat them as mere officers of State. She declared that they held their commissions from a power far superior to that of any earthly monarch, and expressed great disclination to be addressed as Head of the Church. But in regard to other points her mind was made up: she would have the old vestments, the old usages, the old forms of prayer, and the old Church discipline. In an instant the extreme Protestant party took the alarm. Its preachers had been fulsome in their professions of loyalty, while yet the policy of the new sovereign appeared to be doubtful. They now spoke of her, and even to her, in terms of the coarsest invective.

"She is in the habit," writes Bishop Cox to Gaulter, "of listening with the greatest patience to bitter and sufficiently cutting discourses." "The Queen is irritated, the minds of the nobility are alienated, the diseased and weak are debilitated. If this go on, then verily we shall have a papistical or a Lutherano-papistical ministry, or none at all; for an ungovernable zeal for discord is abroad." *

The reader must not suppose that complaints of this sort emanated from the heads of the High Church party alone. Grindal, Horn, Jewel, Pilkington — all men of the mildest spirit — were of one mind. In the Zurich letters their opinions stand recorded, and they agree to a tittle. "It is not owing to us that vestments of this kind (the rotchet and the surplice) have not altogether been done away with." "They are the robes of the Amorites, that cannot be denied. But the sum of our controversy is this. We hold that the members of the Church of England may adopt, without impiety, the distinction of habits now prescribed by public

* There would really seem to have been no limits to the freedoms which grave preachers took at this crisis with the Queen's patience. The famous appeal of Dennis is well known: "Your Majesty began your reign with the meekness of a lamb, you are now an untamed heifer. Olim tanquam ovis, nunc autem, indomita juvenca."

authority; especially when it is proposed to them as a matter of indifference, and while the use of the habits is enjoined only for the sake of order, and due obedience to the laws." Their own feelings, their own wishes, were on the side of Continental simplicity: but what then? They knew the temper of the times, and did not care to risk all, by aiming at too much. "We are brought into such straits, that since we cannot do what we would, shall we not do, in the Lord, what we can?"

Here, then, we stand at the opening of a strife which was to continue, upon grounds perpetually shifting, throughout years unnumbered; which was to undermine the very foundations of the fabric for the purity of which the combatants professed to fight, and to revive again as soon as from the ruins into which she had fallen, the Church, in her integrity, should reappear. As yet, it will be seen, that the points in dispute related to matters of the smallest visible importance. The Reformed Churches of Germany, Switzerland, and Scotland had exchanged the surplice and band for a plain black cloak. They neither crossed the child at baptism, nor knelt to receive the holy communion, nor made use of the ring in marriage, nor placed their communion tables in the chancels or eastern

extremities of their temples. Why should the Church of England impose upon her sons a yoke from which their brethren in other lands had been delivered? The Churches of Germany, of Switzerland, and of Scotland put no restraint upon the devotions of their members by forcing them to pray in public out of a book. Why should the ministers of the Church of England be restricted to a service, which, however excellent in itself, cannot but grow cold by frequent repetition? Such was the language of the Puritans. On the other hand, it was contended that men's consciences must be over-sensitive to a fault, if for the sake of attaining a great and permanent good, they were unwilling to submit to a small and temporary evil. Of Her Majesty's subjects a very large majority retained their attachment to the Romish system; and surely it was better to construct for them a bridge whereby they might cross into the true fold, than by outraging all their prejudices to drive them into schism, and it might be into open rebellion.

That this was Elizabeth's view of the case cannot for a moment be doubted. She made no profession of her faith one way or another. When called to the throne, she consented to be crowned according

to the Romish ritual, though one only of the prelates, Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisle, could be prevailed upon to officiate on the occasion. She balanced in the Privy Council Protestants against Papists, without giving a preponderance to the former; and was present daily in the Chapel Royal at the celebration of Mass. She even appeared for a short space to listen not unfavourably to the suit of Philip of Spain, the husband of her late sister; but all was the result of calculation. To the first Parliament which assembled after her accession, she proposed measures which left no doubt of the course which it was her intention to pursue, and to the end of her reign she adhered to it with a tenacity characteristic of her race.

Of the Acts passed in 1559, relating to Church affairs, two only demand special notice on the present occasion. One, which restored to the Crown its supremacy over the State Ecclesiastical, contained a clause whereby Her Majesty and her successors were empowered to create a High Court of Commission, to consist of such persons (being natural born subjects) as by Letters Patent the Sovereign for the time being might be pleased to appoint. The Commissioners so chosen were to hold office only during pleasure, and were authorised "to

visit, reprove, redress, order, correct, and amend, all such errors, heresies, schisms, charges, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever, as by any manner of spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority, or jurisdiction, can or may lawfully be reproved, ordered, redressed, corrected, visited, or amended." Nor were the Commissioners more restricted in their conduct of particular cases than their powers were limited in seeking for particular cases to conduct. Any person accused of any act or word which could by possibility be wrested into one or other of the offences specified in the deed, was liable to be arraigned, either with or without a jury, as the Court might determine; and failing other evidence, could be put upon his personal oath of purgation, to extort which recourse might be had to imprisonment or the rack. A readier instrument of unmitigated tyranny it is scarcely possible to conceive, and the result proved that it had not been called into existence without a purpose.

The second Act to which we refer, is well known as the Act of Uniformity; and it has received, in our opinion, scant justice at Mr. Marsden's hands. He describes it as the root and origin of all the evils which subsequently befell the Church of Eng-

land. "The Act of Uniformity," he says, "which passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, may be considered as the period of time at which the battle was at length joined, and each of the two parties — the Puritans and Protestants — assumed its definite position. The Act embraced two vital questions: the revisal of the Prayer-book, and the compliance hereafter to be rendered to the forms and ceremonies. With regard to the book of Common Prayer, it remained in substance the second of two prayer-books issued by King Edward — namely, that of 1552. The few alterations made in it did not relieve the Puritans, nor indeed were they meant to do so. With regard to the vestments they felt themselves injured afresh; for they were compelled by a rubric in the revised book to retain all such ornaments of the Church in their ministry as were in use in the second year of King Edward, the year in which his first imperfect prayer-book was put forth, abounding as it did with the traces of superstition; whereas the second prayer-book of 1552 insisted only on the use of the surplice. This was much to be deplored; not because the difference was important between a surplice and a cope, but because it showed an unyielding temper."

Unquestionably the return — though it were for a year or two only — and that more in theory than in practice — to the cope and the tippet was an error; but Mr. Marsden forgets to add, that in 1662 the error was remedied; and he totally overlooks the fact, that in requiring from its ministers a uniform system in the celebration of public worship, the Church of England did no more than has been done by all National Churches, since the foundations of Christianity were laid. Indeed, we must go further. Though the Act of Supremacy struck a fatal blow at the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction, it was the Act of Uniformity, and that alone, which set aside the Mass, and rendered a continuance of Popish customs and ceremonies within the Church of England impossible. And it was the combination of the two which forced the whole of the Bishops, with one exception — Kitchen, Bishop of Llandaff — to resign their seats in the House of Lords, and abdicate their bishoprics. Had Mr. Marsden confined his censure to that clause in the Act of Supremacy which established in England a tribunal so monstrous as the High Court of Commission, all impartial men would have gone along with him. But he confounds right and wrong, or, to use a vulgar phrase, he puts the

saddle on the wrong horse, when he charges the Act of Uniformity, *per se*, with severities which could never have been perpetrated but for the arbitrary proceedings and unlimited authority of the High Court of Commission.

The abdication of the Romish Bishops, partly for conscience' sake, partly through compulsion, was not followed by an immediate reconstitution of the hierarchy. Of the prelates ejected in Mary's reign, three only survived; and two of these, Coverdale and Hoskins, had, by joining the extreme Protestant party in Frankfort, rendered themselves in some measure obnoxious to the Court. But a visitation of the several dioceses of the Kingdom took place by commissioners acting in the Queen's name, and the churches were well purged of their Popish relics. It does not appear, however, that very many of the inferior clergy thought it necessary to follow the example which the Bishops had set them. Out of above eight thousand parish priests, not more than three hundred preferred their creed to their livings.

Between 1559 and 1562 the wrongs suffered by the Puritans were more imaginary than real. The terrors of the Act, whatever these might be, hung indeed over them, but no one stepped forward to

inflict them; and in spite of frequent recommendations to the contrary, a large body of the clergy continued to celebrate public worship in such garbs, and with such forms, as appeared to themselves individually most suitable. At length the vacant sees were filled; and in 1662 convocation met, with the settled purpose, on both sides, of bringing their differences to an issue. Bishop Sandys in the Upper House, and Dean Nowel in the Lower, led, what may be termed, the opposition. They desired to get rid of organs and other musical instruments from churches — to forbid the practice of lay baptism — particularly of baptism by women — to omit the sign of the Cross on that occasion, and to cancel the rubric which requires a kneeling posture at the Holy Communion. They were opposed, also, to Saints' Days — to the practices of praying towards the east, and of bowing at the name of Jesus; and they proposed that a committee should be appointed to examine and revise all the laws relating to the service book, and the dresses of the clergy. In a word, the entire controversy, which by them was extended from a question of vestments to other matters ceremonial, was raised and conducted with great vigour.

The see of Canterbury after continuing vacant

since the death of Cardinal Pole, had recently been conferred upon Dr. Matthew Parker. His worst enemies could not charge him with entertaining any fondness for Popery. But his manners were rough, his zeal was overflowing, and his impatience of contradiction remarkable. He had discovered in the course of his primary visitation, that dislike to the vestments, and, indeed, to rubrical injunctions generally, was more common, especially among the laity than had been supposed. He set himself to enforce obedience to the law in a very determined manner. His main attack, of course, was made upon the clergy. Neither age, nor learning, nor the sufferings of former days protected a recusant divine from his anger. And having entire control over the High Court of Commission, he rendered it a most efficient instrument in the accomplishment of his purposes. It would be tedious to describe how men of inferior note were called away from their homes, examined, and silenced; but one striking instance of the power of mistaken zeal to smother in the human heart every generous feeling cannot be passed over. Miles Coverdale had been Bishop of Exeter in the reign of Edward VI. He went into exile after Mary's accession; and, though differing from Parker on various points, lived with

him in perfect amity at Frankfort. They returned to England together. Parker became Archbishop of Canterbury; Coverdale received no preferment; till Grindal, now promoted to the see of London, gave him the small living of St. Magnus, London Bridge. Coverdale, when an ejected Bishop, had assisted at the consecration of the new primate. The new primate, finding that Coverdale, as rector of St. Magnus', had thrown in his lot with the Puritans, let loose upon him the violence of the Commission Court, and the venerable translator of the Bible was deposed from his benefice, and turned out to die, as he soon afterwards did, in absolute penury.

So long as the efforts of the High Church party were restricted to persuasion and remonstrance, the Continental Reformers gave them their support. They carried with them also the sympathies of the more moderate leaders of what we should now call the Low Church school,—such as Grindal, Horn, Sandys, Parkhurst, and Jewel—all by this time bishops. But the violence of Parker offended his more charitable brethren at home, and drew from their friends and correspondents abroad earnest remonstrances. "We exhort you, reverend sirs, and very dear brethren," wrote Bullinger and

Gaulter, when advertised of these proceedings, "to have respect to faithful ministers and learned men; they have their own feelings; whence the Apostle has instructed us to bear one another's burdens. Your authority can effect much with her most serene highness the Queen. Prevail upon her most gracious Majesty to grant that these worthy brethren be reconciled and restored." Somewhat different in tone, though not less earnest in spirit, were the appeals of the Scottish Church, already fast setting into a Presbyterian form of government. They spoke, indeed, of "vain trifles," of "Romish rags," and "the dregs of the Romish beast." But, insinuating no charge against either Episcopacy or the book of Common Prayer, they prayed only that their brethren might not suffer because of tender consciences in matters of ceremonial and dress.

Violence on one side leads invariably, in such cases, to violence on the other. The moderate men of both parties grieved, and were silent; indeed, we hear little more of Jewel, or of other bishops like him, than that, in an earnest desire for peace, they professed their readiness to sacrifice all, except the Gospel. It was not so with the great body of those who, at the outset, used to look up to them

as leaders. Resistance became with them a principle; and from seeking toleration on their own account, they went on to demand, that the opinions and practices of their adversaries should be put down. Dissent, a thing unheard of up to this date, made its appearance; and congregations assembled here and there, to worship and be instructed by ministers of their own choosing. They were proceeded against, as a matter of course, and submitted to fine and imprisonment with the courage of martyrs. Indeed, they only took what they would have given, probably to a larger extent, had their circumstances and those of their persecutors been reversed. A body of a hundred being on one occasion seized and brought before the Lord Mayor and Grindal, the following scene occurred. There had been a good deal of discussion, which the Bishop conducted with perfect temper, when one of the prisoners exclaimed: "You go like a mass priest." "You see me wear a cope or a surplice," replied Grindal mildly, "at Paul's. I had rather minister without these things, but for order's sake, and obedience to the prince." "Your governments are accursed," was the answer of the famous Nickson. "Good people," interposed the Lord Mayor, "I cannot talk learnedly with you; but I will per-

suade you the best I can. The Queen hath not established these things for any holiness-sake, but only for civil order and comeliness; as aldermen are known by their tippets and judges by their gowns." "Even so, my lord," replied Nickson; "as the alderman is known by his gown and tippet, so by this apparel that these men now wear, were the popes and mass priests known from other men."

Persons who could argue thus and rest their hostility to the law on such grounds, would be treated in our day—as silly enthusiasts. In the times of Elizabeth they were sent to prison and the whipping post.

There resided at this time, in Cambridge, two men, who by common consent were admitted to be among the ripest scholars in the University. They had both at the opening of the vestiarian controversy, *scrupled* the habits; indeed, one went so far as, with three hundred other masters, to lay aside the surplice and the hood—which he was with difficulty persuaded to resume. This was John Whitgift, Margaret Professor of Divinity, afterwards Member of Trinity College, and ultimately Archbishop of Canterbury. The other, Thomas Cartwright, Scholar of St. John's, was scarcely so vio-

lent at the outset, but his career proved to be more consistent, and it led not to honours, but to persecution. It chanced that on the occasion of the Queen's visit in 1564, Cartwright was selected to hold a public discussion for her entertainment in the schools. He had opposed to him one Dr. Preston, a man greatly his inferior in every respect. But Preston happening to be endowed with a handsome exterior and courtly address, the Queen gave judgment in his favour, and poor Cartwright—a homely and unmannered man—retired mortified and offended to his chambers.

It is said by writers not of his own faction, that Cartwright never forgave the wrong; and that he took his revenge by throwing himself heart and soul into the ranks of the Puritans. We must receive all such tales with exceeding caution. But there is no doubt of the fact, that being appointed in 1569, Margaret Professor of Divinity, he delivered a course of lectures which contained little else than a sustained attack upon the constitution and ritual of the Established Church. The proceedings attracted much notice. Crowds attended to listen, and the University was scandalised. Here then we are arrived at a second stage in this great controversy. For it was no longer the surplice

and the rotchet, the ring in marriage, and the cross at baptism, which furnished the eloquent lecturer with a theme. He assailed the Episcopate itself, and endeavoured to prove out of St. Paul's Epistles, not merely that a Presbyterian polity is admissible under certain circumstances, but that it is in strict agreement with primitive usage, and therefore exclusively of divine institution.

Great were the alarm and indignation excited among the seniors in the University. They endeavoured, in the first instance, to fight the leveller with his own weapons, and Whitgift entered the lists against him. But though Whitgift's prelections met with vast applause, Cartwright held his ground, and the number of his disciples increased from day to day. More decisive measures were, in consequence, held to be necessary, and Cartwright, paying no heed to an admonition from the Chancellor, was silenced, deprived of his professorship, and ultimately removed from his fellowship.

There was no telling to what extremes the dominant faction might proceed, so Cartwright, in order to avoid further molestation, retired to the Continent. But he left many admirers and friends behind him, among whom the Earl of Leicester and Lord Burleigh must be numbered. They, to

be sure, being in the Queen's counsel, could mark their sense of the exile's merits only by maintaining with him a kindly correspondence. There were others of less elevated rank but scarcely inferior talent who went much further. Instead of petitioning for leave to exercise the same freedom in ceremonial observances which they had hitherto conceded as a matter of justice to their rivals, the Puritans now protested against the Ecclesiastical system of England as a whole; and set forth their demands in "An Admonition to Parliament for the Reformation of Church Discipline," which was presented by two of the most distinguished of their leaders, Field and Wilcock.

Field and Wilcock were thrown into prison, and their pamphlet burned at Paul's Cross. But copies of it had been made, and its circulation was immense. Again Whitgift received instructions to defend the Church, and again Cartwright met him in the field of controversy. It is curious to observe and to compare the lines of argument which are taken up by the Puritan Divine on the one side, and the High Churchman on the other. The Puritan is convinced that all, even the most minute points, bearing upon the constitution of the Church, are settled by divine authority. He sees a perfect

parity among the ministers of the Apostolic age, and contends that, till it be restored, the Church can never attain to the measure of the stature of its great Head. The High Churchman acknowledges that the titles Archbishop, Bishop, Dean, Archdeacon, &c. cannot be found in the book of the Acts of the Apostles, and evinces no particular anxiety as to whether the offices themselves were or were not of Apostolic Institution. "In the Tabernacle," says the former, "the Church is expressly set forth. As the Temple was nearer the time of Christ, so it is a more lively expression of the Church of God than now is:—Is it likely that He who appointed not only the Tabernacle and the Temple but their ornaments, would not only neglect the ornaments of the Church, but that without which it cannot stand? Shall we conclude that He who sanctioned the bars there, hath forgotten the pillars here? Or He who there remembered the pins, hath here forgotten the master-builders? Should He there remember the beams, and here forget Archbishops, if any had been needful? Could He there make mention of the snuffers to purge the lights, and here pass by the lights themselves?"

So wrote the Puritan, the assailant of things as they were, making no appeal to expediency, but

demanding that his views shall be adopted because they are in accordance with primitive usage. Observe how the champion of orthodoxy deals with this demand, and compare his reasoning with that which somewhat later in the day his followers and copyists adopted:—"It is manifest that Christ hath left the government of the Church, touching the external policy, to the ordering of men who have to make orders and laws for the same, as time, place, and persons require, so that nothing be done contrary to his word. We make not an Archbishop necessary to salvation, but profitable to the government of the Church, and therefore consonant to the Word of God." "We are well assured that Christ in his Word hath fully and plainly comprehended all things necessary to faith and good life, yet hath he committed certain orders of ceremonies and kind of government to the disposition of his Church, the general rules given in his Word being generally observed, and nothing being done contrary to his will and commandment." If this be not the doctrine of expediency, we know not what is. The utility of an office justifies its introduction as well into the Church as into the State. Christ willed that his Church should be governed, because without some sufficient form of government

no corporate or organised society can exist. But laying down no precise law, like that of the Old Testament, by which one uniform and unbending system of government should be framed, he left the Church at liberty to make its own choice, according to the circumstances of time and place in which it might subsist. Nor is it undeserving of notice, that both parties in this controversy appealed for support to the heads of the Reformed Churches of the Continent, not one of which had retained what is now called the Apostolical Succession; and that, for reasons distinctly stated, the Continental Reformers decided in favour of the Established Church of England:—"You ask me," writes Gaulter to Bishop Cox, in August 1573, "to reply to those nine Articles, by the insisting upon which they (the Puritans) give you so much trouble. But if these are the only matters in dispute between you they are scarcely deserving, in my opinion, that any divine should be occupied in the refutation of them; they savour of nothing but a longing after innovation, and I wish they were not sprinkled with something of the bitterness of envy and blind emulation." "The name of Bishop, they cannot but know, was in use in the time of the Apostles, and always, too, retained in the Churches in after

times; we know, too, that Archbishops existed of old, under the name of Patriarchs. And if, in later times, they have occasioned so much offence, by reason of their tyranny and ambition, that these titles are, not without reason, become odious to the godly, I do not yet see what is to hinder but that on the removal of the abuse those persons may still be Bishops, and be called such, who, being placed over a certain number of Churches, have the management of such things as pertain to the purity of religion and doctrine." The great Continental Reformers were wiser in their generation than either of the antagonistic factions in England. They would have retained the Episcopal order among their own clergy had circumstances permitted, and warned their brethren in England not rashly to abandon it. But they pursued this course, not through any settled conviction that without an Episcopate there could be no true Church, but because they believed that, subject to such modifications as the general state of society might suggest, Churches could be better managed, all over the world, by an Episcopate than by any other form of government. They were therefore quite as severe upon the extravagant pretensions and lordly state of the English hierarchy of that

day, as they were upon the restless desire of change which moved the Puritan or Low Church party. All this has, we think, been extremely well put by Mr. Marsden ; and in the summing up of his case we are disposed heartily to agree: —

"There is one consideration which, had it occurred to either party, would have abated something of its warmth, by placing the subjects of contention in a far less important light; we mean the tendency of all institutions to mould themselves in practice so as to accord with the views and dispositions of those amongst whom they flourish. An exact transcript of the primitive churches of the New Testament, were it possible to be revived in London or New York, would grievously disappoint the expectations of its ardent votaries. Names and offices would remain as they were from the beginning, and probably the likeness would be traced in nothing else. The national character would not fail to act with irregular and unequal force upon the different parts of an ancient and foreign institution; and long before it had begun to perform its work with ease, it would, in fact, have been remodelled."

Time passed, and the fathers of the Reformation, at home and abroad, passed with it from the scene of their labours. Peter Martyr died first; then Jewel; then Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich; Pilkington, Bishop of Durham; Bullenger, the great apostle of Zurich; and Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. All these finished their course in 1575; and in the year following, Bishop Horne died also. Grindal, with one or two more of lesser note, alone

remained to steer the ark of the Church through a sea which became more and more troubled from day to day; for the English Reformation had by this time reached its zenith. The Court was grown lukewarm or something more, while among the clergy and the people new men stepped forward to agitate questions which, if not absolutely new in themselves, assumed under their management a new aspect. We have marked the assaults of Cartwright and his friends upon the Episcopal form of Church government, as the second stage in the onward progress of events. We have arrived now at a period when, from agitating questions of polity and ceremonial observances, divines were about to address themselves to the angry discussion of points of abstract faith. Cartwright's movement may be regarded more perhaps as political than theological. The controversies, which arose soon after Grindal's accession to the see of Canterbury, embraced, besides this, those great points of Christian doctrine which afterwards assumed the form of the Calvinistic and Arminian controversy, including the nature of the sacraments, and the method of man's justification. It will be necessary to a right understanding of the results in which they issued, that the student should place himself, so to speak,

on a height, whence he may look down upon the entire field over which the combatants are gathering. And as we think that Mr. Marsden has well pointed out the spot whence this bird's-eye view may most successfully be obtained, we will leave him to guide our readers thither. After stating that, in regard to moral and religious culture, the state of England was then deplorable, he says: —

"The number of the Romish clergy who had resigned their preferments at the Reformation appears almost incredibly small. Including bishops, abbots, heads of colleges, and other dignitaries, as well as the beneficed clergy, no writer can muster up two hundred and fifty: bishop Burnet reduces them to one hundred and ninety-nine; and D'Ewes's journal, a still better authority, to one hundred and seventy-seven, — a number altogether insignificant when distributed among the ten thousand parishes of England and Wales. It would be something more than charity to suppose that such numbers of the Romish clergy accommodated themselves at once to a change so great and sudden without violence to their consciences, or, which is more probable, without an utter scorn and a contemptuous disregard of all religious principle. From such incumbents the reforming bishops had little to expect. To restrain their Popish sympathies, and to insist upon a few decent observances — such as public prayers in English, and the reading of the Scriptures — was probably all they could attempt; and without a just severity, even this was often more than they could accomplish.

"The Christian ministry in Romish countries is not an object of ambition. The priests and friars of Italy are chiefly drawn from the lower ranks of life; and this is still more visible in remoter nations, where the great prizes of their church are

fewer, and out of sight. A slavish life, busied with a succession of fretful observances, has no attractions. The wise and good recoil from it. But a low and ignorant ministry had so long prevailed that it gave but little offence; and this is to be borne in mind when we read of the meanness of those from amongst whom the ministry of the church of England was at first replenished. When Archbishop Parker made the primary visitation of his diocese, some of the beneficed clergy were mechanics, others Romish priests disguised. Many churches were closed. A sermon was not to be heard in places within a distance of twenty miles. To read, or at least so to read as to be intelligible and impressive, was a rare accomplishment. A homily was not read for months together in many parishes. Even in London many churches were closed for want of ministers; and in the country it was not easy to provide a minister competent to baptize infants and inter the dead. Bishop Sandys of Worcester, preaching before the Queen, tells Her Majesty (with a solemn intimation that 'their blood will be required at somebody's hands,') that many of her people, especially in the north, were perishing for lack of knowledge. 'Many there are,' he said, 'that hear not a sermon in seven years; I might say in seventeen.' The Bishop of Bangor had but two preachers in all his diocese. In Cornwall there was not a single minister, says Neal, the historian of the Puritans, capable of preaching a sermon. The Universities afforded little assistance. In 1563 the university of Oxford had but three preachers; and these were chief men amongst the Puritans — Humphrey, Kingsmill, and Sampson. There was yet no succession of young men in the Universities who had been piously brought up in the Protestant faith. This evil had been foreseen by Latimer and the fathers of the Reformation, and was indeed amongst their chief anxieties. The indiscriminate plunder of Church property, which still continued in the reign of Edward VI., was one great cause. The rapacity of those who should have been the Church's guardians is frequently denounced in the sermons of the Re-

formers. Ridley deplored the lack of 'yeomen's sons' as candidates for the ministry. But they did not live to carry into effect those measures of redress on which they were earnestly intent, and which might have prevented the dishonour of the Reformation and the calamities of a future generation. Thus, the want of endowments hindered many; the terms of subscription, and the rigid conformity enforced with needless severity, was a still greater obstacle to many more who might have adorned the ministerial office.

"Not only schoolmasters and law clerks, but others of a much inferior class, serving men, traders, and mechanics, scarcely possessing the first rudiments of learning, were admitted into holy orders. They wanted the only qualifications which can render such a ministry useful, or even tolerable; fervent piety and self-denying zeal. They merely debased the ministry without extending its efficiency."

However unsatisfactory, according to our ideas, such a state of things must have been, to Elizabeth it was by no means displeasing. She looked upon preaching as a spiritual luxury, in which the people ought rarely to be indulged. In the first year of her reign it had been prohibited altogether; and the unsettled condition of men's minds, as well as the boldness with which affairs of state were often handled from the pulpit, may in some sort be accepted as a justification of the arrangement. But it was evidently one to which the Christian Church could not long submit. Preaching is an ordinance of the Divine Author of Christianity; the neglect

of which furnished the champions of the Reformation with one of the most efficient weapons wherewith to assail the Church of Rome. And in proportion as the people became more generally earnest in the concerns of their souls, the anxiety to be instructed by competent preachers increased. Unfortunately the Queen was unable to dissociate the ideas of preaching and the growth of fanaticism. There was no Latimer or Ridley at hand to set her right on that subject; and Parker and his friends had been too much occupied in repressing irregularities arising out of the abuse of that ordinance, to look with any favour upon the ordinance itself. His successor, it is true, laboured under no such prejudice. He had sat at the feet of those who by preaching brought in the Reformation, and he was ready himself to preach again, even though by doing so he might push the Reformation further. But Grindal was constitutionally timid. He shrank from exposing himself to personal collision with the Court, and distrusted his powers to overcome a prejudice, of the violence of which he was aware. "Let homilies," he was told, "be read, and the young catechised; the people require no more. One or two preachers—safe men—may be licensed in a diocese. But to open our pulpits to a crowd of

ignorant mess Johns, will set the nation by the ears, and bring down the Church and the Throne with it."

It was at a moment so unpropitious that the Puritan clergy, in order, as they expressed it, "to give full proof of their sincerity," entered among themselves into an arrangement for the setting up of "prophecyings." The measure was bold, and perhaps, all things considered, injudicious; but it was neither hostile to the established order of things, nor so ridiculous as a certain class of writers represent. The term "prophecying" was accepted by the members of these associations in the sense which St. Paul applies to it. They understood it to signify preaching, that is to say, the public exposition of the Word of God; and they drew up for their own guidance rules which were meant to render such exhortations conducive to the moral and religious edification of all concerned. The rules in question were divided into two sections, of which one bore upon the general tenor of each member's professional life, the other settled the order of their public meetings. It was ordained by the former that organs should not be admitted into churches,—that choral singing should cease,—that Calvin's Catechism should be used in the in-

struction of the young,—and a lecture, of an hour's length, be delivered after each exercise. Sunday was to be observed with great strictness,— prayers for the dead were repressed, — no knell was to be tolled at the death of any person, nor bell rung before the corpse in carrying it to the grave. All these were decided innovations, in spirit, if not universally in letter; and, beside them, there were others, which, being of a more private arrangement, scarcely deserve to be spoken of here. They required, for example, that the communion should be administered in every church, at least once a quarter. They enjoined the minister and churchwardens to go from house to house, to take down the names of communicants, and remonstrate with such as absented themselves. They engaged that after each communion a sermon should be preached, and that on other Sundays, when there was no communion, there should be a sermon in one at least of the churches in each town. They set up the communion table in the body of the church, and objected to a kneeling posture in receiving the elements. They were, in short, rigid in imposing upon themselves, and ready to enforce upon others, a strict attention to the outward forms of religion, without caring to exact a very close obedience to

the requirements of the service book or the law of the land.

The regulations agreed upon for the management of the prophecyings themselves were in substance as follows:—No set days were fixed, but from time to time, as opportunity or the spirit might dictate, the members were to assemble in a convenient church, under the presidency of a minister previously appointed. One minister opened the business of the day with prayer, and the explanation of a text of Scripture. He was expected to confute foolish interpretations, and to make practical reflections. But he was prohibited from running into common-place remarks, and desired to conclude within three quarters of an hour with prayer. A second minister followed, who, though at liberty to supply defects, and to clear up difficulties, was not permitted to repeat what his predecessor had said, or to enter into controversy with him. A third also spoke under the same conditions, and to each, one quarter of an hour was allowed. Finally the moderator or president closed the proceedings with prayer, the whole business being transacted between the hours of nine and eleven, A.M.

These people had, likewise, their confession of faith; and it was forcible, clear, and comprehensive.

They accepted the Bible as the only rule of a Christian man's belief and practice; and condemned as tyrannous all laws and ordinances of man for the binding of the consciences of the faithful.

It is evident, upon the face of the matter, that societies so constituted must become instruments either of great good or of great evil, according as they are worked. Wise and conscientious men — especially if high in station and vested with authority — might be enabled to mould them to good. If left to the management of weak or designing persons, it was more than probable that they would lead to evil. They began in Northampton; and it was no unfavourable prognostic of their success that the Bishop of the diocese and the Mayor of the town gave to them their countenance. The example operated far and near, and, especially in the country towns, similar associations were formed. Archbishop Grindal approved of the broad principle on which these rested, and so far interested himself in the details as to impose certain conditions upon the societies themselves. They had been opposed, vilified, and ridiculed by every section of the clergy, whose ignorance or indolence they practically rebuked. And this circumstance naturally drew towards them all who, from whatever cause,

happened to be dissatisfied with things as they were. In many instances the prophecyings degenerated in such hands into polemics — in some, political discussion took the place of religious inquiry. The hierarchy was assailed, the Prayer-book vilified; ministers who had been silenced in their own churches spoke out there, and the laity began by degrees to take an active part in the proceedings. It was to put a stop to these irregularities that Archbishop Grindal interfered; and his authority appears to have been at once acknowledged. He directed that the Moderator should no longer be elected, but that the chair should be taken by the Archdeacon, or some other grave and learned divine chosen by the Bishop. He required that such subjects alone should be discussed as the Bishop had approved: and, *ante omnia* — so runs the deed — that no lay person should on any account whatever be allowed to speak. Moreover, if any speaker should deviate into politics, or glance, directly or indirectly, at any state or person, public or private; or should inveigh against the discipline or laws of the Church of England, he was to be silenced and not permitted to speak again till he had confessed his error, and been forgiven by the Bishop. Finally, the Bishops were charged not to allow any deprived or sus-

pended minister to speak in such assemblies under any pretext whatever.

No fewer than ten Bishops went heartily with the Primate in this course. They were by no means blind to the peril of the experiment; but they considered it as at least less certainly fatal to the character of the Church and the religious condition of the people, than the state of torpor into which the clergy and the laity were, by due course of law, about to be driven. Indeed, they went further. They knew that a strong desire for religious instruction was abroad, and they were anxious that it should be gratified, rather through the regular channel of the ministry, than by means of teachers who might have ends of their own to serve. The Queen took an entirely different view of the case. She saw no further than the immediate breach of a somewhat arbitrary law; and she gave orders that the prophecyings should cease. It was to no purpose that Grindal — roused at length into action—remonstrated against this decree. "I cannot marvel enough," he says, "how this strange opinion should enter into your mind—that it should be good for the Church to have few preachers! Alas! Madam, is the Scripture more plain in any one thing than that the Gospel of Christ should be

plentifully preached, and that plenty of labourers should be sent into the Lord's harvest, which, being great and large, standeth in need, not of a few, but many workmen?" He then proceeds to show that to suspect of disloyalty those who desired instruction out of the Bible, was not merely an error, but a sin: that Her Majesty's faithful and loving subjects were to be found wherever the Word was truly and freely preached: that the only rebels against her person and throne had been so rendered by papistry and ignorance of God's Word through want of often preaching. Then, after glancing at the causes which operated to call forth opposition to preaching and led to such an inadequate substitute as the reading of homilies, he explains the object and design of the propheçyings, and thus concludes: — "I am forced with all humility and yet plainly to profess, that I cannot with safe conscience, and without offence to the majesty of God, give my assent to the suppressing of the said exercises: much less can I send out my injunction for the utter and universal subversion of the same. I say, with St. Paul, 'I have no power to destroy, but only to edify;' and, with the same Apostle, 'I can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.' If it be your Majesty's pleasure for this, or any

other cause, to remove me out of my place, I will, with all humility, yield thereto and render again to your Majesty what I received from the same: I consider with myself that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God. I consider, also, as St. John saith, 'that he who acts against his conscience is building for hell.' And what should I win if I gained — I will not say a bishoprick, but the whole world, and lose mine own soul!"

This wholesome remonstrance was presented by the Earl of Leicester and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh to the Queen. Eight days elapsed without any reply being vouchsafed; and then it came in the form of a command for the Archbishop's suspension. He was summoned also to appear before the Lords in the Star Chamber, and there make his humble submission to the Queen. The rest of his history is well known. He could not appear in the Star Chamber, being confined to his bed by a painful malady; and his submission he refused to make, further than by expressing fervent sorrow that he should have fallen under her Majesty's displeasure. He was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his own house, and measures were taken for his deprivation. But a stronger hand than that of

Elizabeth protected him from this outrage. He died in disgrace on the 6th of July, 1583.

The successor of Grindal in the Primacy was Whitgift, a man of vast learning and undoubted zeal. His government proved to be harsh, because his spirit was intolerant; yet he acted throughout, neither upon the suggestions of impulse, nor through any mean design to ingratiate himself into the favour of his royal mistress. His temper, in fact, bore, in many respects, a close resemblance to her own. When questions arose which the law had decided, he could enter into no compromise. He demanded submission as a duty, and was prone to exact it rather by force than by argument. The new Archbishop took his ground at once, and never afterwards swerved from it. He found a sharp persecution begun against Brownists, Anabaptists, and the Family of Love. He carried it forward vigorously, including, from time to time, an ill-fated prophet among his victims. But this was not enough. The Puritans must also be extirpated, and their turn came in due time.

The Brownists were the followers of one Robert Brown, a beneficed clergyman, of good family, but loose morals. He attracted notice, and got into about thirty jails, by preaching continually against

the Bishops and a Church episcopally governed. Yet he never resigned his preferment. He was less honest than his followers. The Anabaptists resembled the disciples of Munzer in this respect alone,—that they denied the validity of infant baptism. The Family of Love were in theory Antinomians; in practice, as far as we can discover, perfectly harmless. All, however, had seceded from the Establishment, and all were, therefore, by common consent amenable to persecution. Indeed, it was the settled faith of the age that there could be but one church in a nation, and that all who withdrew from it rendered themselves thereby obnoxious to condign punishment. Such was the opinion expressed by Cartwright himself without circumlocution or evasion, when, animadverting upon Whitgift's defence of the Church of England. "Magistrates," he says, "ought to enforce the attendance of Atheists and Papists on the service of the Church, and punish them if they do not profit by the preaching of the Word." And such, a few years later, was the tone of a petition presented in favour of certain oppressed Puritan divines by a body of Suffolk magistrates. "Laborious ministers," they say, "are marshalled with the worst malefactors, persecuted, indicted, arraigned, and

condemned, for matters, as we presume, of very slender moment; some for having the holidays unbidden; some for singing the psalm *Nunc dimittis;* some for leaving out the cross in baptism." Then, after reciting the grievances of their own party, they add:—"By law we proceed against all offenders; we touch none that the law spareth; we spare none that the law toucheth; we allow not of Papists; of the Family of Love; of Anabaptists or Brownists; we punish all these. And yet we are christened with the odious name of Puritans." A curious argument this to be addressed to a power, which, if it erred at all in its dealings with the petitioners, erred because of its interference with the sacred right of private conscience. Yet wherein does it differ from the reasoning of those among ourselves who would exclude from the legislature, and treat as aliens from the promises, all who differ from them on abstract points of faith, or questions of church government?

It was in 1583, that Whitgift braced himself in earnest to the enterprise which he had undertaken. In the autumn of this year the Queen, at his request, issued a new Commission; which was addressed to forty-four persons; of whom twelve were always to be bishops, the rest high officers of

state. Three out of these forty-eight persons were qualified to act, provided the archbishop and one of the prelates mentioned in the deed were of the number; and the powers conferred upon them were tremendous. They had authority to inquire into all heretical opinions, seditions, books, false rumours, or slanderous words.* They were to correct, reform, and punish all who wilfully abstained from divine service established by law, all heresies, schisms, &c.; to cite before them and deprive such of the clergy as maintained any doctrine contrary to the Articles; to punish all grievous offences cognisable by the ecclesiastical law, including outrages, misdemeanours, and disorders in marriage. In their mode of proceeding likewise the utmost latitude was given. If a culprit could not be convicted under a jury, the Court had power to convict "by witnesses alone." If witnesses were not forthcoming, the accused might be put upon his oath expurgatory, and compelled to answer by imprisonment and the rack. Finally, as a guide to the Commission in its dealings with clerical delinquents, the Archbishop drew up twenty-four Articles, which were so ingeniously contrived, that no honest Puritan could escape from them. We

should disgust as well as fatigue our readers were we to describe in detail the proceedings of this most atrocious Commission. For it left no point untouched, whether the party arraigned were an impugner of the whole constitution of the Church, or only tender in his conscience as to the fitness of the surplice. But the cases of Paget and Udal, both men of rare piety and distinguished learning, stand so completely by themselves, that we should not feel justified in passing them by.

Eusebius Paget was minister of Kilkhampton, in the diocese of Exeter. He is described as a divine, meek, quiet, and indefatigable; who went about his district continually doing good, and preached the simple truths of the Gospel wherever he could collect an audience. He never made a secret of his dislike to certain rites practised in the Church, as well as to most of the directions laid down in the Prayer-book. Before consenting to be inducted into his benefice, he had opened his mind freely on both subjects; and was assured as well by his patron as by the bishop that for such causes he had no reason to apprehend molestation. The Commission had been in existence about two years only when Paget was brought before it, on charges, the worst of which, if proved, might have convicted

him of indiscretion, but which had clearly no stain of heresy about them. Moreover, he was accused of disloyalty, because, while acknowledging the Queen's undoubted supremacy in affairs temporal, he questioned her right, and that of any unordained person, to interfere in matters purely spiritual. It is not a little curious to observe the changes which time and events have wrought in the abstract views of Church parties. Paget was a Puritan; yet he claimed for the clergy an exclusive right to the keys. Is it not for this that the Church Union of modern times speaketh daily? But Whitgift's churchmanship was of a more accommodating nature. Having found Paget guilty of heresy, schism, and disloyalty, he ejected him from his benefice, and when the poor man endeavoured to support himself and his family by opening a school, he called upon him to subscribe the thirty-nine articles, and take out a licence from his bishop. The terms in which Paget describes his case are very touching:—"I was never present," he writes, "at any separate assembly from the Church, but abhorred them. I thought it my duty not to forsake the Church because of some blemishes in it. I am turned out of my living by commandment. I afterwards preached without living or a

penny stipend; and when I was forbid, I ceased. I then taught a few children, to get a little bread for myself and mine to eat; some disliked this, and wished me to forbear, which I have done, and am now to go as an idle rogue and vagabond from door to door to beg my bread." It is satisfactory to find that this poor man's sufferings lasted only during the lifetime of Whitgift; and that, being reinstated in the ministry, and presented to the living of St. Agnes', Aldersgate, he, of his own accord, shook off his scruples, and died, after years of usefulness, in strict conformity with the Church of England.

Udal's wrongs were even more flagrant. A treatise appeared in which Bishops were coarsely handled, and suspicion of the authorship fell upon him. He was arraigned before the Commission and closely questioned, but refused to criminate himself. He declined, however, to say in direct terms that he was not the author, and assigned his reasons. "My Lord," was his answer to a remonstrance from Lord Cobham, "I think the author did well, and I know he is inquired after to be punished. I think it my duty to hinder the finding of him out, which I cannot do better than thus." "And why so, I pray you?" demanded the Lord Chief Justice.

"Because if every one that is suspected do deny it, the author at length must needs be found out." It matters very little whether Udal really was or was not the author of the libel in question. That he wrote the preface to it, becoming responsible thereby for the contents of the whole book, seems to be generally admitted. And had the Commission prosecuted him as a libeller, no voice could well have been raised against it. But the Commission took a very different view of the case. Udal had the oath proposed to him, which he refused to take. He was first committed to prison, and then carried, with fetters on his legs, to Croydon. The Judge in charging the jury assured them that "Bishops were the Queen's officers in things ecclesiastical, and that he who spoke or wrote against them, spoke or wrote against the Queen." And on this ground, and without any proof adduced that Udal had really committed the offence with which he stood charged, the jury returned a verdict of guilty. A form of recantation was laid before him, which he refused to sign. He was sent back to prison in the hope that time and the solitude of a dungeon might bring him, as the phrase went, to reason. But neither arguments nor threats could bend him to

more than an acknowledgment that "the manner of the book was in some parts such as might worthily be blamed." At the next Assizes he was placed in the felons' dock to receive sentence of death. The Commission had, however, by this, exceeded the utmost limits of audacity. Public feeling ran strong in Udal's favour. The jury which convicted him complained that they had been doubly misled; first, in being told that the sole point for them to decide was whether in their opinion Udal had written the obnoxious treatise, and next in having received an assurance that not under any circumstances should the penalty of treason be imposed. The merchants of London entreated, that if he must be punished the punishment might be exile, not death; and they offered to establish him as chaplain at one of their trading stations in the Mediterranean. Even James of Scotland, cautious as he usually was of giving offence to Elizabeth, interceded for Udal. And his own appeal told. After justifying, in some sort, the doctrine of the pamphlet, he went on to say:—"If the punishment be for the manner of writing, it may be thought by some worthy of an admonition, or fine, or some short imprisonment. But death for an error of such a kind, cannot but be

extreme cruelty against one who has endeavoured to show himself a dutiful subject and a faithful minister of the Gospel." "If, however, all this prevail not, yet my Redeemer liveth, to whom I commend myself, and say, as Jeremiah once said in a case like mine, 'Behold, I am in your hands to do with me whatsoever seemeth good unto you; but know you this, that if you put me to death, you shall bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and upon the land.' As the blood of Abel, so the blood of Udal will cry to God with a loud voice, and the righteous Judge of the land shall require it of all who shall be found guilty of it."

The Court was awed by this appeal, and hesitated to carry the sentence into immediate effect. Elizabeth herself wavered. And Udal, sent back again to prison, occupied his solitary hours in compiling a Hebrew grammar. Whether, after all, he would have been brought to the scaffold is uncertain, for his fate was still in suspense when a power superior to that of the law interfered to settle it. He died, worn down with suffering and sorrow, in the Marshalsea, towards the end of the year 1692.

We have detailed these facts as specimens, and by no means unfavourable specimens, of the measures adopted by Whitgift and his Royal Mistress to

establish uniformity within the Church. Their line of defence against assaults from without was neither more generous nor more long-sighted. It will be borne in mind that Cartwright, the illustrious leader of the party, had been forced early in the progress of the Puritan controversy to retire to the Continent. For some time he presided over an English congregation at Antwerp, and was honoured with the friendship of all the most distinguished of the Continental Reformers, including Fagius and Beza. His health, however, began at last to fail, and he petitioned the Privy Council for leave to return and die in his native country. His appeal, though presented and earnestly urged by Lords Leicester and Burleigh, proved useless; and acting on the advice of his physicians, he ran all risks, and returned without leave to London. He was immediately arrested, and, by order of Aylmer, Bishop of London, cast into prison. But Aylmer's zeal outran his judgment on this occasion. He acted without first of all securing the Queen's assent, and fell at once into disgrace. Moreover, Whitgift, who with all his sternness did not lack generosity, seems to have been touched with the low estate of his former companion and antagonist. He caused him to be released. He even admitted

the Puritan champion to an interview, from which both parties retired with feelings of mutual respect; but there the Primate's generosity ended. He declined to re-admit Cartwright to the ministry, and not without hesitation abstained from preventing his induction to the Mastership of Warwick Hospital, to which Lord Leicester presented him. Even the scholarship of the great founder of English Presbyterianism, which was admitted, both at home and abroad, to be of the highest order, Whitgift refused to employ in the cause of abstract truth. The Romanists had lately published their translation of the New Testament, well known as the Rhemish version, in which they assailed the fidelity of the English translations by means of notes, very cleverly compiled. At the instigation of Beza, and by request of the leading members of the University of Cambridge, Cartwright undertook to revise the English New Testament, and to expose the sophistry which pervaded these notes; but Whitgift interposed to prevent it. He could not tell how much of poison might be infused into the milk of Cartwright's doctrine. It was by no means impossible that every blow levelled at the Pope, might knock down Episcopacy likewise. The Archbishop, therefore, in whom was vested the power to

approve or reject, refused his licence to the work, and it never, as a whole, saw the light.

We must hurry over the rest of Whitgift's proceedings during this reign. They were in strict agreement with the principle on which, from the outset, he had determined to act; and to all appearance they accomplished their purpose. Puritanism shrank from open combat with power, and the Church attained, or seemed to attain, to the level of indifferentism. There was, however, a fire burning inwardly, which from time to time broke out into a blaze. The ablest and most obsequious of the Queen's counsellors, Leicester, Burleigh, Warwick, Bedford, Lord Huntingdon, Lord Bacon, and Sir Francis Knollys, looked with extreme disfavour upon the High Commission Court and its proceedings. Indeed, Leicester and Sir Francis Knollys made no secret of their respect for the Presbyterian party, against which its efforts were mainly directed. Nor did there fail to be aroused elsewhere strong aspirations after greater freedom in civil as well as in ecclesiastical affairs. In the House of Commons Wentworth gave utterance to sentiments which cost him, indeed, a brief imprisonment, but which indicated, pretty clearly, that in striving to govern as her father had done, Elizabeth

might overshoot the mark. In a word, the dawn was breaking of that practical liberty in England of which the theory had, from the remotest times, been interwoven in her constitution, and which a long season of intellectual darkness had alone prevented the English people up to this date from asserting.

It has been the misfortune of the Church of England that at almost every critical period in her existence, she has failed to conciliate the good will of the more earnest-minded of the English people, and earned, thereby, their distrust. In 1584, for example, when the law appeared to have done its work, an address on the subject of the reform of Church abuses was presented by the Lower to the Upper House of Parliament. The address in question was by no means violent in its tone. It complained of insufficient ministers, of destitute parishes, and of pluralities. It prayed for greater liberty of conscience to the clergy, especially in matters ceremonial and of slight moment. It desired that common exercises, such as the suppressed prophesyings, might be restored; that the High Court of Commission should be restrained, except in flagrant cases, from summoning clergymen beyond the bounds of the diocese within which

they resided; that Bishops should exercise their powers in person rather than by commission, and that sentence of excommunication should not be pronounced in cases of trifling irregularity. The Archbishop was of course the great impugner of these suggestions; and he reasoned as too many Archbishops and Bishops have done, from his day to the present. He defended pluralities on the ground that many benefices in England were too poor to support the incumbents, but forgot to add that such are seldom held by pluralists. He alleged, and perhaps with truth, that in the memory of man England had never been so well supplied with efficient ministers as she was then. And he deprecated change, because there is always risk of its leading to confusion, into which state he was able to show that the rest of Protestant Europe had fallen. The Archbishop prevailed, and the address was rejected; but the Lords, while assenting to his arguments, felt that the general question of Church Reform could not much longer be eschewed. Indeed, there is ample evidence to prove that the matter would have been taken up in good earnest had not the opposite party arrested the proceeding by the impolicy of the measures which they adopted with a view to press it forward.

In 1587, a second address on the subject of ecclesiastical abuses was proposed in the House of Commons. It took a far wider sweep than that which three years previously the Lords had rejected; and they who supported it made no effort to measure either their language or the subjects to which they spoke. The Queen and the Court were alarmed. It appeared to them that the constitution of the nation in Church and State was struck at, and they determined to act against the assailants with vigour.

They had everything, except perhaps abstract right, on their side. Elizabeth stood on the very pinnacle of her popularity. The nation was yet rejoicing in its escape from the Spanish Armada. Plot after plot against the Queen's life had been detected and avenged. The Popish powers of Europe were everywhere hostile, and it was felt that upon her, under God, all the hopes of Protestantism, at home and abroad, depended. What, in comparison with such an object, were venial errors in doctrine, or occasional outbursts of tyranny in practice? To a man the common people were with her, and of the nobles very few cared to oppose themselves to her humours. It was, therefore, among the middle classes alone—the burgesses

and smaller gentry of the nation, that the strength of the Puritan party lay; and these, though daily advancing in wealth and intelligence, exercised, as yet, comparatively slight influence over the opinions of the nation. Hence her direct interference with the proceedings of the House, her rebukes to the Speaker, and the arrest and imprisonment of Puritan members, drew forth scarce a murmur of remonstrance throughout the realm. And by-and-by, when Martin Mar-prelate took up his pen to assail her, not even the truth contained in many of his libels could win over the mass of such as read them to his side. In a word, the Puritans having first of all injured their own cause by the extravagance of demands which were not essential to its success, brought it into absolute disrepute, through the folly with which they persisted in fighting a lost battle, and the countenance which they gave to designing, if not to crazy men, to stand forward as their champions in the struggle. When Arthington and Coppenger undertook to act as prophets of mercy and of judgment to such a madman as Hacket, and Cartwright himself did not refuse to correspond with Coppenger, we need not wonder that numbers to whom the policy of the Court was far from satisfactory should have supported it in

the conviction that they were thereby guarding against a more urgent evil. Hence the facility with which the Restraining Bill passed through both Houses, a measure not more iniquitous in its spirit than impracticable in its letter. For a law which doomed to imprisonment, and even to exile, all persons, above the age of sixteen, who for one consecutive month should be absent from divine worship in their parish churches, could not be carried into effect had the desire to see it executed been more general than it was. The sole purpose, indeed, which it served, was to deepen the rancour of all against whom it was directed, and to raise up in many who had heretofore been neutrals in the quarrel a disposition to take part with the oppressed.

From the passing of this Act, down to the death of Elizabeth, there was a lull, so to speak, in the ecclesiastical horizon. The Church party seemed to have triumphed, and by little and little, ministers and people equally conformed to usages from which they could not escape. It is true that here and there a war of words was still kept up, sometimes in the same pulpit. The illustrious Hooker, for example, and Travers, his scarce less distinguished opponent, set forth in alternate sermons, for the

edification of the students in the Temple, the relative merits of an Episcopal and a Presbyterian system of Church government. And Whittingham, Dean of Durham, in spite of his Genevan orders, vindicated from court to court, his right to the preferment which Elizabeth in the beginning of her reign had conferred upon him. But the old ground of dispute concerning vestments, matters ceremonial, and the Book of Common Prayer, appeared to be abandoned, nor was the disposition as yet manifested to enter upon the wider field of doctrinal differences, at least in a spirit of hostility. Time and events were however working together to expose the hollowness of this truce, and the death of Elizabeth, which occurred in 1602, gave a prodigious impulse onwards to the crisis.

James I. had spent the best of his days in a country where Presbyterian institutions were in the ascendant. The pupil of George Buchanan, he was supposed to have imbibed all the opinions of his distinguished tutor; and he had repeatedly expressed to his native parliament—not without a wipe at the Church of England—a decided preference for the polity and worship of the Scottish communion. On more than one occasion he had remonstrated with Elizabeth on her treatment of

divines belonging to the Puritan party, and the Puritans had in consequence taught themselves to regard him as their friend, and to anticipate the period when he should become their protector also. Whitgift—as the result proved—took a more accurate measure of the man. He believed that in professing a preference for the Presbyterian polity James had always been insincere, and he lost no time after the demise of the Queen in opening with her successor a private communication, of which the design need scarcely be particularised. The Puritans, though less on the alert than he, were not found wanting. They hastened to get up a petition, in which all their grievances, real and imaginary, were set forth; and they presented it to the new sovereign, soon after he had passed the border, with eight hundred, or, as they themselves averred, a thousand signatures annexed. This petition the King received somewhat ungraciously, but with a promise that its contents should be considered. It will be necessary, however, before touching upon the fulfilment of that promise, which marks the opening of another act in the great drama of which we are tracing the progress, that certain matters which the order of our narrative

has compelled us to pass by should be brought into notice.

We have elsewhere taken occasion to point out, that however much divided the clergy of the Church of England might be, they rarely entered at this period into polemical discussion on questions of abstract doctrine. There would appear, indeed, to have been no diversity of opinion on these heads among the great men who led the way in the struggle with Rome. Like the Fathers of the Reformation abroad, they accepted for themselves what we should now call a moderate Calvinism, and infused it into the confession and general services of the Church. This, however, was done with extreme caution; and the consequence was, that so long as public attention continued to be engrossed by questions, first of ritual observances, and by and by of Church government, men of various shades of thinking affixed their signatures to the national confession of faith, and explained it without scruple in such a sense as best fell in with their own preconceived opinions.

There seems, however, to be in the clerical mind a furor of controversy, which must find vent through some channel or another. No sooner was the original party-dispute settled, than amid the

recesses of dogmatic theology, curious inquirers groped about for causes of strife;—and soon found them. It was in Cambridge that the doctrines of Election and Reprobation first began to be handled with a boldness heretofore unthought of. But the contest was far from ending where it began. It passed from town to town and from village to village, till all the pulpits in England rang with discussions which served no other purpose than to leave both speakers and hearers in a maze. Again Whitgift's passion for uniformity urged him to interfere. He could not alter the terms of the confession, which the Church in convocation had sanctioned; but he drew up nine supplemental articles, and put them forth as explanatory of the Church's meaning. There was no equivocation or reserve about these articles. They set forth, in terms as peremptory as language will admit of, the whole Council of God; and settled the fate as well of the reprobate as of the elect in the most summary manner. The elect, chosen before the creation of the world, could not finally fall; the reprobate, doomed by a like decree, could never attain to salvation. Faith, by which alone men are justified, cannot be extinguished in the former; grace, by

which they might be saved if they would, is not given to the latter.

It is characteristic of the times of which we write, that these gloomy doctrines, though originating with the leader of the High Church party, not only made no way in the party itself, but were taken up, and became ere long the Shibboleth of their antagonists. The Puritans gathered round them at once as the standard of their faith, and while in their outward deportment they became day by day more rigid, their common conversation was seasoned with a profuse intermixture of Scriptural phraseology. On the other hand, we do not find that any differences of opinion prevailed as yet, touching the nature of the Sacraments, and their purposes in the Divine economy. High Churchmen and Low, Prelatists and Puritans, Lutherans, Calvinists, and the members of the Scottish Presbyterian Church, were equally agreed in this, that "by baptism we are engrafted into Christ Jesus, to be made partakers of His nature, by which our sins are covered and remitted;" and that, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, "the body and blood of Christ are, *by the faithful*, verily and indeed taken."

In this condition, as regarded its doctrine and

discipline, the Church of England stood, when the representatives of a thousand Puritan divines put into the new King's hands their petition. Its tone was upon the whole moderate, and some of its demands were based on the foundation of right. But these, even more effectually than objections to ceremonies, and the dress of the clergy, insured the failure of the movement. Had the petitioners been satisfied to pray for deliverance from the surplice, the cross at baptism, and the ring at marriage, — had they denounced only non-residence and pluralities, chanting, the rite of confirmation, and such like, — at least they would have secured the sympathy of some of the most influential laymen in the kingdom, without, in all probability, giving much umbrage to the King. But both King and courtiers at once took part against them, as soon as they were found to condemn the constitution of the High Court of Commission, and to demand that property taken from the Church and given to private persons should be restored and applied to the promotion of knowledge and piety in the land.

It is well known that James dissembled with the Puritans. The conference at Hampton Court, conducted under his immediate auspices, proved little better than a farce. Indeed, the Low Church party

seem to have been but indifferently represented there, though they deputed Reynolds, Sparkes, Knewstubbs, and Chadderton to be their spokesmen. Brow-beaten and bullied, these good men lost their heads, and took refuge at last in an elaborate advocacy of the Lambeth Articles, and the fitness of reviving the suppressed prophesyings. But one great good they were mainly instrumental in achieving, for which, if it stood alone, they deserve to be had in perpetual remembrance. It was in consequence of a suggestion by Reynolds that a new translation of the Bible was determined upon; and out of this determination arose our authorised version, a work which, though here and there capable of some improvement, is upon the whole worthy of all acceptation.

The details of the Hampton Court controversy are familiar to every reader of history. Its issues were never doubtful for a moment, and the Puritans retired from it disappointed and angry men. They even blamed themselves for having striven, as they expressed it, to serve at once God and Mammon, and they took their places firmly on the side of the former. The High Church party in like manner resolved to keep no more terms with the enemy. They pushed their triumph to the utmost;

and having drawn up a body of canons wherein the terrors of excommunication are dealt out with no sparing hand, they obtained for them the approval of the Sovereign and proceeded to force them upon the clergy. Fortunately for the peace of the nation, James considered it beneath his dignity, as head of the Church, to obtain for these regulations the sanction of Parliament. They never, therefore, acquired the force of law so far as to be binding on the laity. But the clergy had no other choice submitted to them than to subscribe or resign their benefices, and a considerable number of the best men in the body chose the latter alternative. Nor was it enough to drive out of the pale of the Church all whose views of religion and its requirements were more earnest than those of common men. It was considered right to encourage the growth of sentiments directly the opposite, and a royal proclamation enjoining the habitual desecration of the Lord's Day came forth. We need not pause to describe in detail the results of this policy. It drove numbers to seek on the Continent and in America that freedom of conscience which was denied to them at home. It opened a door to profligacy, especially in the court circle, such as shocked and disgusted all whom it failed to infect.

And it awakened everywhere that desire of change —that impatience of prerogative, overstretched and abused, which broke out in the following reign into open rebellion.

In the end of February, 1615, died John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury. He had governed the Church with much harshness, and was succeeded by one who appeared nowise disposed to relax the discipline which he found in force. But Bancroft was at least a more politic churchman than Whitgift. He endeavoured to conciliate where he considered that violence might fail, and passing over obscure offenders struck only at marked men. He succeeded in establishing, for a brief space, a bastard prelacy in Scotland by accepting Presbyterian orders as a sufficient preparation for Episcopal consecration; and he won favour even with the Puritans by the zeal with which he persecuted Roman Catholics. His successor, George Abbot, entered but imperfectly into the former of these views, and failed in consequence to establish a permanent ascendancy over the mind of his pedantic master. Moreover, Abbot's misfortune in killing accidentally one of the keepers in Croydon forest seemed to hang like a cloud over his spirits through life. It rendered him patient of private slights, and indulgent,

as far as circumstances would permit, to public irregularities. The Church in Scotland broke down under his administration, and the marriage of Prince Charles with the Dauphiness of France never commanded his approval. Besides, Abbot was known, in his general view of the Christian scheme, to coincide with the decisions of the synod of Dort — conclusions diametrically the reverse of those at which King James had arrived. For all these reasons, and still more because he shrank from persecution, he soon lost the favour of James, and with Charles he possessed no influence whatever. It is by no means clear to us, however commendable on abstract grounds Archbishop Abbot's policy may be considered, that it did not operate, under the peculiar circumstances of the times, unfavourably for the cause of peace and order. Trusting to his leniency many divines who would have otherwise kept within the limits of the law, broke through them, and inflamed their congregations, first, by preaching against the established order of things, and, next, by becoming martyrs for conscience sake, often very much to their own surprise. At the same time it is only fair to add, that, from first to last, Charles and his advisers acted as if an evil destiny were impelling them to their own

destruction. When it became fashionable about court to argue in favour of a reconciliation with Rome — when clergymen were noticed and preferred for preaching up the right of the sovereign to govern by the prerogative alone — when the remonstrances of the House of Commons against abuses in the Church were treated with contempt, and the Primate was suspended for refusing to license the publication of a sermon in which the authority of Parliament to make laws was called in question — it is very little to be wondered at that disaffection in Church and State should have become more and more prevalent from day to day.

And here we arrive at another stage in our journey. Under James the watchword of the Prelatists had been, "No Bishop, No Church." In doctrine they leaned towards the abstract views of the Remonstrants, and inculcated uniformity in the celebration of public worship, and the divine right of kings to misgovern. The promotion of Laud to the see of Canterbury narrowed to a wonderful extent the terms of Church communion. New views of the nature and purposes of the Sacraments were put forth. Regeneration in baptism was understood to signify much more than admission into the visible Church of Christ. In the Sacrament of the

Lord's Supper the body and blood of the Saviour were received in substance, though not in form. The Sacrament itself became a sacrifice, the minister a sacrificing priest; the table was become an altar, and its position arbitrarily fixed. To refuse to bow at the name of Jesus—to pray with the eyes directed anywhere except to the east—to object to reverences on approaching or passing the altar—to lighted tapers or pictures, or images,—all these became offences against the authority of the Church. And the law being brought into operation with a rigour which relaxed not even for a moment, it broke down at last, as all machines are apt to do when kept too long upon the stretch.

We are not going to follow Mr. Marsden in the account which he gives of the causes which led to the Civil War, and the issues in which it resulted. Perhaps there is no page of history with which the generality of Englishmen are better acquainted. The resistance of the Scots to Laud's Episcopate and Service Book encouraged the disaffected in England to enter upon a similar course, and the whole fabric of Church and Monarchy came to the ground. It was succeeded, for a short time, by a Republic and a Presbyterian polity; the Westminster confession of faith taking the place of the

Thirty-nine Articles, and extemporaneous worship superseding the Book of Common Prayer. And now was verified the truth of the saying, "that we seldom learn lessons of charity in the school of suffering for conscience sake." The Presbyterians made haste to vindicate the Scriptural authority of their system, by expelling from their benefices such of the clergy as hesitated to conform to the new discipline. The bishops were of course deposed. Laud suffered death, and of his brethren very many went into banishment. But Presbyterianism, as it had no real hold either upon the respect of the House of Commons or the affections of the people, so it fell before the assaults of Independency and its armed preachers. We need not linger over this part of our subject. The gleanings of the harvest which the Commission of Religion had left, the Triers gathered in, and to all outward appearance the Church of England ceased to exist.

We have spoken, without reserve, of the severities of the High Prelatic party. If we omit to expose at equal length the not less oppressive acts of their warlike rivals, it is only because our paper has already far exceeded the limits which we had set to it. Not in England only, but abroad, on the

continent of Europe and in America, the Puritans brought discredit upon themselves and upon the faith which they pretended to vindicate. For the High Court of Commission was never guilty of cruelties more revolting than the execution of Robinson and Stevenson, and of Mary Dyer, the quakeress, at Boston. At the same time let us do justice to the great man, who without assuming the kingly title, exercised for some years more than kingly power in this country. Cromwell was no persecutor for religion's sake. His views were tolerant to a degree which his contemporaries could not understand. Yet even Cromwell's vigorous arm with difficulty bent the elements of confusion into something like order; and when he died, chaos came back again. The people became impatient under it. They regarded all the sufferings of the last years as God's judgments upon the nation for its behaviour to a king whose faults had never been visible except to the leaders of the Opposition, and whose violent death had more than atoned for them, even in that quarter. As soon, therefore, as General Monk was known to be in favour of a restoration, the entire English nation assented to it. No conditions whatever were made with Charles II.; so that free and unfettered,

except so far as a sense of gratitude might bind him, he returned to occupy the vacant throne.

And here, as it appears to us, an opportunity was afforded to the Church of England, of gathering under her wings almost the entire population of the realm. Charles II. had no religious predilections or antipathies one way or another. His own creed, if he had any, was the Creed of Rome. He felt his obligations to the Presbyterian party, which, with Monk at its head, had done more than any other to effect his restoration, and was inclined to favour them as far as might be compatible with a monarchical government. On the other hand, the Church of England, understanding the term in its constitutional sense, could not be said to have had at this time any existence. Episcopacy was abolished by an Act of Parliament, to which the late Sovereign had given his consent, and the rites and ceremonies which used to wait upon it were fallen quite into disuse. The measure to be undertaken, therefore, was not so much the alteration or modification of an old system as the establishment of a new. And so the Presbyterian party regarded it, when among the first acts of his reign, Charles selected ten or twelve of their most influential divines to be his domestic chaplains. Nay, more,

the King's answer to his chaplains when urging him to take steps for easing the consciences of that large section of the people to whom they ministered, could be interpreted in no other way, than as conveying an assurance that conciliation would henceforth be the rule of his policy. Among the divines who took part in this conference we find Calamy, Reynolds, Shenstone, Wallace, Bates, Manton, Cox, and Baxter; Ash and Newcome, their contemporaries and equals, declined to take office about the Court.

It is well known that by this time the term Puritan had fallen into disuse. All who from whatever cause felt indisposed to welcome back the Laudian system, called themselves Presbyterians; whether, with Baxter, they preferred the Independent polity, or with Lords Manchester and Holles, were favourable to a modified Episcopacy. In perfect good faith, and hopeful of the King's support, they set themselves to consider rather how much, than how little, of the ancient Church system they could accept. And it did so happen that they found a scheme concocted to their hands, of which Archbishop Usher, Primate of Ireland in the reign of Charles I., was the author. This scheme did not seek to overthrow the Episcopate,—far other-

wise. It suggested, indeed, a curtailment of the worldly state which enabled Whitgift to make his visitations followed by a train of 500 horsemen, and to keep on foot, ready when need should arise, 100 infantry, and 50 cavalry, equipped and disciplined for war. But it aimed at a large increase to the number of Bishops, by requiring that in each rural deanery throughout the kingdom a suffragan bishop should be planted, and that each of the existing dioceses should become an archbishopric; and that the two primates should assume the spiritual rank, and execute the spiritual offices of patriarchs. The suffragan bishop, however, was not to act without consulting his incumbent clergy, whom he was to meet once a month in synod. The diocesan archbishop was to meet a diocesan synod in like manner yearly, and each primate to assemble a convocation once in every three years, and to preside over its deliberations. Before these several courts all questions of discipline and difficulty were to be brought, appeals lying from the lower to the higher, till they should be finally settled in convocation.

Having agreed among themselves to this form of government, the Presbyterians went on to consider the doctrines and services of the Church. To the

former they made no objection: the Thirty-nine Articles satisfying all their wishes. Into the latter they desired to see various modifications introduced. Though generally approving of the Book of Common Prayer, they wished it to be treated rather as a directory than a liturgy. They objected to the sign of the cross in baptism, to the use of the ring at marriage, to the kneeling posture in receiving the communion, to bowing at the name of Jesus and towards the altar. "You admit," they say to the Prelatists, "that these things be in themselves indifferent; they are not so to us who behold in them a rock of stumbling;" and quoting the words of King James, they add, "It is not enough that public worship be free from blame, it ought also to be free from suspicion. We pray you, therefore, not for such occasion to hazard the peace of the Church." It is much to be deplored that propositions upon the whole so moderate should have been met in a spirit, not merely of hostility, but of contemptuous hostility. The opening sentences, in the reply of the High Church party, changed entirely both the tone and object of the discussion. "We must first observe," they write, "that they, the Presbyterians, take it for granted, that there is a

firm agreement between them and us in the doctrinal truths of the Reformed Religion, and in the substantial parts of divine worship; and that the differences are only about mere various conceptions about the ancient forms of Church government, and more particularly about liturgy and ceremonial forms, which makes all that follows the less considerable, and less reasonable to be stood upon to the hazard and disturbance of the peace of the Church. This we deny." Here was a direct charge of heresy. The Presbyterians threw it back with scorn; and a breach, which appeared at one moment on the point of being healed, grew wider than ever.

In this, as in almost all other disputes of the kind, blame may be pretty equally shared between the contending parties. The gauntlet was unquestionably thrown down by the Prelatists; but it would have been good for themselves, and indeed for the Church at large, had the Puritans proved less eager to take it up. Ere yet the Savoy Conference was well begun, the King had pressed upon their leaders, bishoprics and other high dignities. With the exception of Reynolds they all declined the preferment, alleging as a reason, that till the points in dispute between them and their rivals

were settled, they could not, with a safe conscience, accept office in an Episcopal Church.

It is not worth while to pursue the subject further. The points in dispute between the Presbyterians and their rivals were not settled, and Baxter, Manton, and Bates, and Bowles, instead of acting with Reynolds in convocation and in the House of Lords, stood aloof to witness the passing of a new Act of Uniformity, which, under other circumstances, they might have resisted, and even defeated. Then followed the ejection of 2000 ministers—most of them pious, many learned and able men—and the permanent establishment of a systematic nonconformity, which neither active nor passive persecution could eradicate, and which, in various shapes, comprehends at this moment, about half the population of the kingdom.

Such in substance is the tale which Mr. Marsden tells, if not with the philosophical indifference of a judge summing up for a jury, still in a spirit of commendable candour and perfect honesty. That he has his leanings no one who reads his book can doubt: but he is not the prejudiced advocate either of a cause or of its champions; for he exposes with great impartiality, the faults as well of the one side as of the other. His volumes, moreover, deserve

to be studied quite as much by such as are anxious about the future, as by those who content themselves with looking continually to the past. It is clear that at the root of this continued opposition and strife lay neither questions of dress, nor forms of Church government, nor points of doctrine exclusively. These might be used, from time to time, as watchwords or battle-cries; but what the Church of England wanted then, to command the undivided loyalty of the English people, was, that which she seems destined in the present generation to receive,—whether to the same good purpose, who shall undertake to foretell? For, in truth, the Reformation in England remains to this day a work incomplete; it was far more incomplete at each of the critical periods of which we have been writing. In renouncing Popery and its doctrinal errors, our Church retained too much of the pomp and circumstance of the Popish system. Her bishops continued unnecessarily raised by wealth and station above their clergy: her clergy, as priests, continued to exercise too stringent a dominion over the consciences of the laity. Beautiful as her Liturgy is, it contains expressions which jarred, three centuries ago, and still jar the convictions of thoughtful men; and its extreme length, as well as the many

repetitions which occur in it, weary. Moreover, while to tender consciences the Thirty-nine Articles may be very acceptable, because of the wise comprehensiveness of their style and doctrine, there are expressions in one, at least, of the Church's Creeds, which, however capable of being explained away, continue to be regarded by the less instructed as marvellously bold, not to say presumptuous and unchristian. So also the services for the visitation of the sick, the burial of the dead, and even the baptismal service itself, are encumbered with phrases, which would lose nothing of their true force, while they gained greatly in appearance, were it possible, by the mere substitution of modern for obsolete words, to modify them. We say nothing of canons which the whole body of the clergy subscribe, without pretending to the power, even if they had the will to obey them; or of rubrics having the force of law over both clergy and laity, to which neither clergy nor laity will submit. Of these things the world has heard of late rather too much; but it is manifest that they, like other less prominent blemishes, remain, simply because the Church of England as a reformed branch of the Church Catholic, has not yet assumed the constitution which she ought to assume. What shape this

is to put on, it would ill become us, at the close of a long essay, to specify ; but these features, at least, will not, we trust, be wanting to it :—An enlarged and modified episcopate; the creation of Church Courts, in which the lay element shall be adequately represented ; a due supply of clergy to the waste places of the land, and such a reform in cathedral bodies as shall render them the ornament, not the great blot, upon our whole ecclesiastical system.

GENERAL MILLER.*

WILLIAM MILLER, the subject of this memoir,—in which we find more of novelty and entertainment than in a score of modern novels and romances,—was born on the 2nd of December, 1795, in the pleasant village of Wingham, near Canterbury, where his father was a small tradesman—we believe a baker. Of the events which characterised the progress of his early life we are told nothing, except that he served from 1811 to 1815 with the British army (from no regiment being mentioned, we suppose in the commissariat), both in the Peninsula and North America; and that, on the reduction at the latter period, an opportunity presented itself by which, had he turned his attention to mercantile pursuits, he might have become a partner in a French house of great

* From the Quarterly Review, Vol. xxxviii. No. lxxvi.—*Memoirs of General Miller in the Service of the Republic of Peru.* By JOHN MILLER. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1828.

respectability. But young Miller had not been a cold spectator of war, and his genius had taken a bent which rendered the dull routine of the counting-house intolerable to him. After a short trial, he relinquished the design of advancing his fortunes by means of commerce, and imagining that a fine field of enterprise was presented in the condition of Spanish South America, then struggling for independence in all its provinces, he determined to do as many others of his countrymen had done before him, by making a tender of his military services to one or other of the republics. In his mode of carrying this determination into practice, Miller exhibited a striking proof of that sagacity and sound judgment which so eminently distinguished him in all his after career. Having ascertained that comparatively few English candidates for military fame had made the district of the river Plata the theatre of their exertions, he came to the wise resolution of choosing that for his future country; and accordingly set sail, in the month of August, 1817, in a trading vessel, bound from the Downs to Buenos Ayres.

Having taken the precaution to provide himself with recommendatory letters to several respectable merchants settled in that city, Mr. Miller, whose

personal appearance, if his portrait speaks truth, is eminently handsome, and whose manners and address chance (we are told) to be peculiarly engaging, encountered none of those obstacles to first success which so frequently blight the hopes of the mere adventurer. On the contrary, he was welcomed with the utmost cordiality and treated with the greatest kindness by his countrymen, through one of whom, Mr. Dickson, he obtained a personal introduction to the supreme director, Puyerredon; and his memorial, addressed to the latter personage was, within a reasonable space, answered by the receipt of a captain's commission in the Buenos Ayrean army. He was appointed, moreover, according to his own desire, to the army of the Andes, then serving in Chile, under the orders of General San Martin; and he lost no time in making such preparations as appeared necessary to enable him to enter, with satisfaction to himself, upon the duties and perils of a campaign.

Neither in Buenos Ayres, nor elsewhere, are appointments received or preparations made in a day, and Mr. Miller seems to have enjoyed some months of leisure previous to his embarkation on his military career. Of this breathing-time one portion was spent in enjoying the festivities of colonial

society, another in visiting the interior; an expedition which brought at once within his observation all the wonders, animate and inanimate, of the Pampas. These appear to have produced in Mr. Miller the same feelings which Captain Head experienced, and has so well described; but the progress of his journey introduced the former to one spectacle at least such as the latter had no opportunity of witnessing, and which, under his peculiar circumstances, could hardly fail of exciting a powerful, if not a very pleasant, sensation. The spectacle to which we now allude was that of a few fellow-creatures groaning under a destiny more terrible than frequently falls to the lot of human nature; and as it could not but occur to the person who beheld them, that a similar fate might before long be his own, we are not surprised to find that he looked upon it with a deep and melancholy interest.

Mr. Miller proceeded, in company with four Buenos Ayrean gentlemen, to visit an estancia or grazing farm, situated in a remote district, not far from the borders of Patagonia. On the 30th of October, the party crossed the river Salado; and at five p.m. reached a station called Los dos Talos. It consisted of four miserable hovels, one of which

was used as a *pulperia*, or shop and public-house, whilst the other three were occupied by thirty-eight Spanish officers, who had been made prisoners of war at Monte Video in 1814. These unhappy gentlemen, after serving throughout the greater part of the war in the Peninsula, which they quitted so lately as 1813, fell into the hands of the Buenos Ayreans, by whom they were condemned to subsist in this secluded district, upon rations of beef and salt, without any other allowance. Within the space of a hundred miles round, there was not a human being with whom they could hold friendly converse, for the neighbouring estancias were occupied wholly by Gauchos, whose antipathy to the Spaniards knew no bounds; and a basin of milk occasionally, but rarely given to them, was the only act of kindness for which they had cause to be thankful. After enduring this horrible banishment for some time, ten of these unfortunate hidalgos, headed by a Major Livinia, resolved at all hazards to attempt their escape. They accordingly fled from Los dos Talos, with the design of making their way to Chile, then in possession of the Royalists, and trusting to find shelter and protection, by the way, among the savage Indians; but after enduring privations, under which seven

miserably perished, the three survivors were compelled to return and surrender themselves once more to a patriot outpost. They were immediately removed back to their old station, where they had ever since remained, in a state, both of body and mind, the most deplorable. The Major, in particular, with whose relatives in the mother country Mr. Miller happened to be acquainted, was in a pitiable condition. His beard had grown to his chest, his countenance was ghastly, and his figure emaciated; his eyes had become diseased, and were but indifferently screened from the glare of day by an old sack hung up before them; and he lay upon a sort of truckle bed, composed of two or three rugs placed upon cross sticks, run into the mud wall at one end, and fastened on the other to upright sticks driven into the earthen floor. With respect to the furniture of the hovel, which contained no fewer than twelve inmates, it consisted of a three-legged stool, ten inches high, and covered with a woollen rag, upon which the poor invalid occasionally sat, leaning against a wall, the dampness of which was in part kept off by a piece of canvass battened upon sticks; while a long plank, having its extremities supported between the horns of two bullocks' skulls, supplied the place of a bench

for the rest of the company. Some clasp and case knives and forks, a few horn spoons, a kettle or two, a frying-pan, a ramrod, to supply the place of a spit, a couple of gridirons, an earthen dish, and about a dozen broken cups and saucers, constituted the sum of household utensils at the disposal of the entire group. A few *lassos* and *balas*, indeed, hung upon the wall, but they were seldom used, because one or two only of the prisoners were permitted to mount on horseback at a time; and as even this favour depended upon the caprice of an officer of *Gaucho* militia, it could very rarely be obtained. To complete the picture of utter misery, our traveller was assured by his new acquaintances, that soap was a luxury of which they knew nothing, and the general filth and squalor of their appearance gave testimony that the complaint was not made without reason. It will readily be imagined that Mr. Miller contemplated such a scene, not only with pity, but with a far livelier and deeper feeling. He did his best, we are told, to cheer these miserable men; but we must hurry over the particulars of his interview with them, as well as the remainder of this excursion, that we may follow him at once to the seat of war.

On the 6th of January 1818, Captain Miller set

out for Buenos Ayres, provided with a passport and fifty dollars, such being the sum granted, in the shape of bounty, by the government. Travelling post a distance of three hundred leagues, he reached, at the close of the ninth day, Mendoza, a large town, situated in an extensive and well-cultivated plain at the foot of the Andes, and holding the rank of capital in the province of Cayo. Its most remarkable feature is a fine alameda or public promenade, sheltered on either hand by rows of poplar, — a tree so highly esteemed in the province, that the Spaniard who introduced it was, by an express decree of the revolutionary government, excepted from the hostility shown to his countrymen, absolved from the payment of all direct taxes and taken under the especial protection of the ruling power.

Here our traveller delayed a few days, partly that he might recover from the fatigues of past exertions — partly that he might be a witness to the peculiarly simple and innocent habits of the people; after which he addressed himself to the arduous and toilsome task of crossing the Andes.

Captain Miller followed the Pass of Uspallata, by which means he reached Santiago, a distance of eighty-three leagues, about noon on the fourth day.

Of the solitary grandeur of that stupendous region, no one who has not traversed it can form any adequate conception. From the hour that the wayfaring man enters upon it till he arrive at the opposite side of the range, all trace, not only of human industry, but, we had almost said, of animated nature, is lost. The road leads, indeed, from ridge to ridge, so completely thrust among the clouds, that the torrents, whose roar is distinctly heard beneath, can rarely be seen; whilst to meet even the stag-like gaze of the *guanco*, or to watch the solitary condor, as with motionless wings he floats overhead, is felt as a relief to the weary senses. Nor is the passage made good without danger, — real as well as imaginary. The snow, on many of the highest table-lands, when melted by the sun, assumes an irregular and broken surface, and offers but an insecure footing to mules and horses, — which, sinking into it, are never extricated without extreme difficulty, and sometimes entirely lost. And as the strange noises, made by the wind, come through the long deep valleys upon the ear of the guide, he rarely fails to add to the horrors of such actual calamities, by recounting stories of travellers who have perished there already, and whose souls are still believed to haunt the

vicinity of their unburied remains. Subject to all these inconveniences, Captain Miller held his course. He crossed the rich and fertile valley of Chile; halted for a day or two in Santiago; and, finally, came up, on the 26th, with the army of San Martin, in bivouac, at Las Tablas, near Valparaiso.

The nucleus of the army of the Andes, to which Captain Miller attached himself, was formed in 1814, out of the remains of several corps, which, under different leaders, had suffered, one after another, defeats. Two whole years were spent in its organization, and at the end of that period it amounted to no more than four thousand regular troops, tolerably well clothed and armed, besides a considerable number of raw militia. At the head of this force, San Martin proposed to carry the war into Chile, then defended by Captain General Marco, at the head of nearly eight thousand regular, and eight hundred irregular troops. But as he was not competent to take his adversary in front, he resolved to deceive him, if possible, into a division of his strength; and then at tacking him in detail, to complete the liberation of a province, where he had every reason to be convinced that a strong revolutionary spirit prevailed.

San Martin assembled his army at Mendoza about

midsummer in 1816, preparatory to his passage of the Andes. To facilitate the latter measure, he invited the Indians of Pehuenche to a conference at Fort San Carlos; which was held with the customary pomp of presents and debauchery — and the result was, that all the caciques engaged to grant the patriots a free passage, and to conceal their designs from the Spanish general. But San Martin knew enough of these savages to be aware that the pledge which they gave one day would be violated on the next; and hence, instead of rightly informing them of his intended movement, he laid before them a plan which he never designed to execute, with the most perfect assurance that they would divulge it to the enemy. Nor was he deceived in this. The Spaniards being led to expect his arrival by the pass of El Planchon, kept a large portion of their force in that direction; while San Martin, forming his corps into two columns—one under Soler, the other under O'Higgins — and passing the mountain-barrier at points where he was least expected, debouched suddenly into the valley of Putuendo, and took possession of the towns of Aconcagua and Santa Rosa.

The Royalist force, left in this district, amounted to little more than four thousand men; it retired before the invaders, and concentrated on the heights

of Chacabuco, so as to enfilade the road from Santa Rosa to Santiago. On the 10th February, 1817, San Martin appeared in front of the position; and, on the 12th, was fought a battle, named after the estate of Chacabuco, which cost the Spaniards six hundred in killed, with upwards of three thousand prisoners, including the captain-general. Santiago immediately submitted to the victor; who, sending out detachments in all directions to hunt down and destroy the remains of the Royalist army, returned in person to Buenos Ayres, for the purpose of demanding supplies. Perhaps to the latter measure not a slender portion of the difficulties afterwards encountered may be attributed; for San Martin's lieutenants, unawed by the presence of their chief, appear to have executed the orders given to them with little alacrity; and the Spaniards were, in consequence, enabled to fortify the town of Talcahuano, as a *point d'appui* on which to rally. Talcahuano was, indeed, invested, and an attempt made to carry it by assault; but the former measure, had decisive steps been taken after the battle, would not have been necessary, and the latter was repulsed with loss. In the meanwhile the Spaniards assembled large bodies of men at different places. Troops arrived at Lima from the

mother country. General Osorio came from Callao with three thousand six hundred men; and the whole uniting in Talcahuano, amounted to full six thousand effectives of all arms. Things were in this state when Captain Miller reached Las Tablas. San Martin had returned, and brought with him recruits which swelled his own column to nearly five thousand men; whilst that of O'Higgins, to which the siege of Talcahuano had been entrusted, as well as a corps under Colonel Las Heras, were falling back towards Talca.

Captain Miller having reported his arrival to the general-in-chief, was immediately ordered to join his regiment — the Buenos Ayres artillery, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Plaza. He presented himself accordingly to the latter officer, who, without so much as desiring him to be seated, gave directions to an orderly to lead him to an unoccupied tent. There he threw himself down (his baggage being as yet far in the rear) on the ground, and slept soundly, undisturbed by visitors or inquiries, till the following morning.

In the service of South America, the officers live together, according to the relative ranks which they hold in their profession; and Captain Miller found himself, in consequence, a messmate of his brother

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captains. They were a strange medley of persons, differing in all their habits, notions and ideas from those with whom he had previously been accustomed to mix; but Miller was too much a man of the world to make any display of the disgust which certain of their peculiarities failed not to excite; and he was too enthusiastic in the cause to abandon his profession, because it presented an exterior somewhat more rude than his previous imagination had bestowed upon it. On the contrary, he appears to have readily and cheerfully accommodated himself to the circumstances in which he was placed; and to have found ample sources of amusement in contingencies which, to the feelings of a more fastidious person, would have been extremely annoying. Nor, to say the truth, were causes of contentment wanting. The captains seem to have known something of the art of good living in theory, and to have been sufficiently prompt in reducing it to practice, as the following description of the daily routine in camp will serve to show: —

"The style of living was simple but substantial. A benign climate permitted persons to sleep and to live in the open air, excepting in the heat of the day. *Mate**, served by a lame invalid, retained for that purpose, was taken from hut to hut,

* *Mate* is an infusion of the herb ilex, and is drunk as Englishmen drink tea, mixed with milk.

before the occupant arose from his mattress. Breakfast *à la fourchette* was served at nine. The dinner hour was between two and three: it was composed of excellent soup, roasted strips of flesh, brought to table on a stick or ramrod, which answered the purpose of a spit, poultry, vegetables, and fruit, in great abundance. The prices in the camp-market were, for poultry, one shilling a couple; vegetables, for six or eight people, threepence; apples and pears, one shilling per bushel; water-melons, three-halfpence each; bread and other articles of food were proportionably cheap. The rations, which consisted of meat and salt, and sometimes vegetables for the whole corps, four hundred and eighty men, cost the government less than one thousand dollars per month. The pay of a private soldier was four dollars per month; one half was stopped on account of rations. The net pay of a captain of artillery was sixty-five dollars per month. *Mate* was again served round at sunset, and supper followed for those who chose to partake of it."

The corps of Buenos Ayres artillery consisted of ten six-pounders and one howitzer, to which were attached four companies, of one hundred and twenty men each. Of these, the first company attended exclusively to the guns; the second was armed and accoutred as cavalry; and the third and fourth, carrying muskets, did the duty of infantry. All were, however, equally drilled to the horse artillery, cavalry, and infantry exercises; and all being mounted, equally skilful as horsemen, and equally accustomed to catch a young colt with the lasso, and afterwards break him in, no confusion arose out of the complexity in their arms.

Each gun was drawn by four horses, and each horse ridden by a gunner, there being no corps of drivers in the service; and a non-commissioned officer, with seven privates, all of them mounted, marched on its flanks, front or rear. The carriage and limber differ but little from those used in England, except that a pole is substituted for shafts; but, in the harness, there is a marked dissimilarity. In South America, there are no such things in use as collars or traces: each horse is fastened to the gun-carriage by a thong of hide, one end of which is strapped to a ring at the end of the girth, high up, near the flap of the saddle; whilst the other end of the thong is strapped, in like manner, to another ring at the end of the pole; and the thongs of the leaders differ from those of the wheel horses in nothing except that they are longer. The saddle-girth, again, measuring about four inches in breadth, is made of strips of plaited hide; so that every gunner, if he possess but a knife and a cow-skin, is capable not only of repairing, but fabricating his own harness. In like manner, the felloes of the wheels are protected from the influence of the sun, by bands of raw hide fastened round them; but as they necessarily render the engine clumsy in its movements, they are uniformly cut away

previous to the commencement of an action. Such was the constitution and material of the Buenos Ayres artillery, to which upwards of six hundred horses were attached. When wanted, these were driven into a circle, where each man unerringly threw his lasso over the head of the animal to which he took a fancy. The saddles were then put on, the horses hooked to the carriage, and the regiment formed and in motion, within the space of twelve minutes. But it was not in limbering up, alone, that the Buenos Ayrean artillery possessed merits, of which we, in Europe, know nothing. Carrying along with it a drove of spare horses, and changing the jaded for the fresh animal at any moment, — this corps performed with ease marches of fifty or sixty miles, during many days successively; and, in cases of extreme urgency, it has been known to accomplish as many as ninety miles in one day. This, too, is done over every description of country: for the lasso is made to serve the purpose of a drag, by fastening a horse to the tail of the gun, in descending a declivity; and the gun is drawn readily through bogs and morasses, because a boundless power of muscle is at the control of the guide.

With respect to the infantry and cavalry, again,

their appearance was certainly not such as to satisfy the fastidious eye of one accustomed to the neat and orderly bearing of French and English troops. Few soldiers wore stocks, their legs were bare, except where the sandal of raw hide chequered them; and the poncho, or short blanket, perforated in the middle, to allow the head to pass through, supplied, in most instances, the place of a coat. Yet the composition of the army of the Andes was good; and, though the dress of the men might be pronounced ungainly, they were well armed, tolerably disciplined, and enthusiastic.

Captain Miller had joined his corps something more than a week when San Martin broke up his encampment, and advanced for the purpose of meeting O'Higgins, of whose retreat he had been made aware. During the march an opportunity occurred of which our countryman promptly availed himself, to give proof of perfect coolness in danger, and a readiness to undertake any service, no matter how hazardous. About six leagues south of Santiago, the Maypo, a river of extraordinary rapidity, rushes between two precipitous rocks, and is crossed by a swinging bridge constructed of hide cables. This the infantry and cavalry passed without much difficulty, but it appeared hopeless to attempt the

transport of the guns; and the matter was the more to be regretted, that, should they not cross here, a wide detour must be made, and the further progress of the army seriously delayed. Captain Miller instantly volunteered to conduct the leading piece. He did so with every precaution which the circumstances of the case would allow; but when he had attained the middle of the bridge the gun upset, and the cables giving to its weight, the whole fabric assumed an inclination almost perpendicular. Captain Miller, and the few men who accompanied him, were compelled to cling to the cords, in order to save themselves from being precipitated into the torrent beneath; and such was the terrific aspect of the scene that for many minutes none would venture to their relief. At last, however, assistance was brought, and they, as well as the dismounted gun, were with difficulty saved; but the artillery was compelled, after all, to seek a safer passage. Yet Miller lost no credit by the attempt. It stamped him at once as a man who set his life at a pin's value, and drew upon him the eyes of his general at the very commencement of his career.

On the 15th of March General San Martin formed a junction with the columns of O'Higgins and Las

Heras, at San Fernando; and the strength of the whole came up to seven thousand infantry, fifteen hundred cavalry, thirty three guns, and two howitzers. On the 18th, his advance fell in with the van of Osorio's column, and a smart affair ensued, in which the Royalists were worsted; but no general action was fought, for Osorio, having discovered the strength of his adversary, fell back with precipitation upon Talca. A good deal of manœuvring took place during this retrogression, and some skirmishing after the relative positions of the armies had been assumed; but the night of the 19th found San Martin in the plain, and his opponent securely bivouacked among vineyards and enclosures in front of the town.

The situation of the Royalists, notwithstanding their formidable position, was now extremely critical, for San Martin had shown them, by the style of his manœuvring, that he was not to be treated with contempt; and the river Maule, difficult at all parts to ford, cut off their further retreat. General Osorio sank under the perils of his situation, but General Ordonez, second in command, supported by Colonel Beza, resolved to attempt something for their own and others' deliverance. They accordingly moved, at the head of two or

three regiments, from their bivouac, about midnight, and falling unexpectedly upon the Buenos Ayreans, at a moment when some battalions and the artillery happened to be in the act of changing their guard, caused a general confusion, from which the patriots never recovered. The latter were routed with the loss of all their guns, two only excepted, which Captain Miller, by his steadiness and determination, succeeded in preserving; and San Martin was compelled to retreat, first upon San Fernando, and afterwards upon Santiago.

In the city of Santiago the greatest confusion prevailed, as soon as the defeat of the liberating army became known. General Osorio had been noted, in that place, for his extreme cruelty, of which a ruffian called Sambruno was the chief instrument; and the return of these persons no sooner became anticipated than alarm and dismay took possession of the inhabitants generally. Even the supreme delegado, Don Luiz Cruz, was affected by the universal panic, and permitted men, women, and children, to flee to the mountains, as if affairs had become absolutely desperate. One man alone, Rodriguez, retained his presence of mind. He put a stop to the emigration, provided quarters for the fugitives, raised recruits, and took a public and

solemn oath not to abandon his country under any circumstances; and the example which he thus nobly set was soon followed by others. By-and-by San Martin and O'Higgins arrived, and many stragglers coming in and uniting themselves with the fresh levies, a new army of six thousand five hundred men was speedily embodied. With this force San Martin posted himself upon the Plains of Maypo, determined to risk a second battle in defence of Santiago.

The Royalists followed up their first success with so little vigour, that it was not till the morning of the 5th of April that they arrived within six leagues of the city. Here they were met by the patriots, when a sanguinary contest ensued, — in which, though at first successful, the Spaniards received a total defeat. Two thousand royalists fell upon the spot; upwards of three thousand were made prisoners, and scarcely a hundred men, — among whom was the general-in-chief, Osorio, escaped by bye-roads to Talcahuano. In this affair, however, Captain Miller was not engaged, he having been previously detached with a company of infantry, to take possession of the Lautaro frigate, which the Buenos Ayrean government had just purchased; and in which he began his services, as an officer of

marines, under the orders of a brave countryman, Captain O'Brien.

The Lautaro, an old East Indiaman, of eight hundred tons burthen, was manned by one hundred foreigners, two hundred and fifty Chilenos, who had never before been afloat, and Miller's company of marines. It immediately put to sea, and in ten hours after was engaged with the Spanish frigate, Esmeralda, in the bay of Valparaiso. Though the latter escaped, and the gallant commander of the Lautaro perished, this first naval essay on the part of the Chilean government was not without its advantages; for it served at once to raise the blockade of Valparaiso, and it gave to the patriots a superiority in those seas, of which they failed not to make the most. Other ships were purchased and fitted out, and as it was known that part of a large force, organised at Cadiz, was destined to act against Chile, the squadron prepared to intercept the transports, in which it was represented to be conveyed.

In this squadron, Miller, now promoted to the rank of Major, re-embarked, as senior officer of the troops distributed throughout the ships. These were the San Martin, of fifty-six guns — the Lautaro, of twenty-four — the Chacabuco, of twenty —

and Araunaco, of sixteen, — the whole under the guidance of Don Manuel Blanco Ciceron, lieutenant-colonel in the army, and commodore. The armament put to sea, at noon on the 9th of October, 1818, amidst the loudest cheers of an assembled multitude, and the roar of artillery on the forts.

But in spite of this display of confidence, there were not wanting persons, whose fears obtained the mastery over their hopes ; and who, remembering the discordant materials of which the crews were composed, and the comparative inexperience of the chiefs, anticipated nothing but disaster and disgrace. Nor is this to be wondered at. Of the naval officers, almost all were Englishmen or North Americans totally ignorant of the Spanish language, while the ships' companies were made up, partly of deserters from the British navy, and partly of conscripts drawn from the Pampas, to whom the very sight of the ocean was new. Yet the best spirit prevailed among them ; and though Major Miller was compelled to act as interpreter, to render the most common orders intelligible, everything went on with astonishing regularity.

On the 28th of October, a Spanish frigate, with whose approach the commodore had been made acquainted, was seen at anchor, within pistol-shot

of Talcahuano. The commodore hoisted English colours, and steered towards her; but having arrived within musket-range, these were displaced by the Chileno flag, and an irregular but heavy cannonade began. The Spaniards soon cut their cables, and ran their ship on shore, taking to the boats themselves, and escaping; when the prize was immediately taken possession of, and an attempt made to tow her off. But the wind blowing against them, the efforts of the Chileans proved unavailing; and they were themselves sorely annoyed by a fire of musketry from the beach. At this juncture Miller was despatched with a flag of truce, to offer generous terms to the fugitives, provided they would surrender. But instead of being received as he expected, the Major was made prisoner, and it was even seriously debated whether he should be immediately put to death. From such a fate he was, however, preserved by two militia officers, who compelled him to accompany them towards Conception, on the road to which, he was met by General Sanchez, at the head of one thousand six hundred men; but Sanchez passed on without condescending to speak to him, desiring, at the same time, that he should be blindfolded. This was done with circumstances of extreme barbarity;

and when, at last, the Spanish general consented to receive his message, it was met only by an order, that the bearer should be *despatched, as he deserved.*

That Sanchez desired the death of Major Miller cannot be doubted; but, being anxious to escape the odium which would have attached to open murder, he contented himself with directing that his prisoner should be bound hand and foot, and laid under a shed, in line with the fire from the patriot squadron. Here Miller passed the night, the shots of his friends falling in all directions round him; but as he had borne himself proudly before his enemy on the previous day, a lively interest was excited in his favour among the Spanish officers. Two of these — Colonels Loriga and Cabanos, warmly remonstrated with Sanchez on the cruelty of his proceedings; and throwing out certain hints, which he could not fail to understand, they succeeded at last in obtaining Miller's release. Miller was set at liberty; he was led to the beach by Colonel Loriga, and a romantic friendship sprang up between these individuals, which lasted throughout the remainder of the war, and continues to this day.

In the meanwhile the Chileans, by dint of con-

tinued exertions, had succeeded in making themselves masters of the Spanish frigate, and the whole squadron, as soon as Major Miller was received on board, again put to sea. Though exposed to many dangers through the unskilfulness of the crews, this armament completely succeeded in the object which it was intended to serve, capturing, one after another, the entire Spanish convoy of which it was in pursuit; and it returned on the 7th of November to Valparaiso, increased by the amount of its prizes to no fewer than thirteen sail. In these were embarked upwards of two thousand troops, whose junction with the corps of Sanchez, had it been effected, must have given a decided superiority to the Royalist cause; indeed it is not going too far to assert that, but for the good fortune which attended the efforts of Commodore Blanco, the progress of the revolution in Chile must have been, at least for a time, arrested.

Whilst Miller and his comrades were enjoying, at Valparaiso, the honours and attentions to which their services entitled them, Lord Cochrane arrived in that city, to take upon himself the chief command of the naval forces of Chile. He was received with the distinction due to his rank, and the deference justified by his professional reputation;

and a round of balls and other amusements, private as well as public, caused several weeks to pass merrily away. But the circumstances of the times were not such as to authorise a neglect of other matters, and in the midst of so much gaiety, warlike preparations went on without intermission. These were in due time completed ; and on the 14th of January, 1819, Lord Cochrane put to sea with four sail of armed vessels, the largest of which mounted fifty, and the smallest twenty guns, with the design of destroying the enemy's shipping at Callao, blockading his principal seaports, and inducing the Peruvians to co-operate with an expedition which it was intended to embark at Valparaiso, for the purpose of liberating Peru.

On arriving off the bay of Callao, Lord Cochrane, whom Major Miller accompanied in his former office as commandant of the troops, found two Spanish frigates, the Esmeralda and Venganza, moored under the guns of the castle. These he made an attempt to carry, bearing down in his own ship, the O'Higgins, disguised as the United States frigate Macedonian, upon the Esmeralda, and causing the Lautaro, Captain Guise, to act against the Venganza ; but the wind unfortunately failing, both vessels were compelled to anchor —

Lord Cochrane, at the distance of a thousand yards from his opponent, and Captain Guise no nearer. A heavy but not very destructive cannonade ensued, in which the castle and batteries on shore took part, till Captain Guise being severely wounded, and the O'Higgins cut a good deal in her running rigging, the Independent squadron withdrew.

Nothing daunted, however, by this repulse, Lord Cochrane fell upon other plans for the attainment of his end. He caused rockets to be constructed, and fire-vessels organised, with which repeated attempts were made to destroy the enemy's ships, but all his efforts proved fruitless. The Spaniards rested secure under shelter of their works, and the Chilenian admiral was compelled to return to Valparaiso.

During the progress of these operations, Major Miller met with an accident, from the effects of which it was a long time before he recovered. A cask of gunpowder, near which he was standing, exploded, and he was so dreadfully scorched, that the nails dropped from his hands; and for many days he was fed through a sort of plaister mask, put on to save him from utter blindness. He was delirious for some time; and six weeks elapsed ere his strength was sufficiently reinstated to

permit his quitting the cabin even to walk the deck.

The squadron remained in Valparaiso during three months; the whole of which were spent in manufacturing rockets, and making other preparations for a fresh attack upon the shipping at Callao; and on the 12th of September, 1819, the undermentioned vessels of war again set sail: —

O'Higgins . .	48 Guns	.	Vice-Admiral Lord Cochrane.
San Martin .	60 „	{	Rear-Admiral Blanco, Captain Wilkinson.
Lautaro . .	46 „	. .	Captain Guise.
Independencia	28 „	. .	Captain Forster.
Puyerredon .	14 „	. .	Captain Prunier.
Vittoria & Verezana	.	. .	to be fitted up as fire-ships.
Galvarion . .	18 „	. .	Captain Spry } joined
Araucano . .	16 „	. .	Captain Crosbie } afterwards.

In these were embarked four hundred soldiers, of whom the chief command was taken by Lieutenant-colonel Charles; and Major Miller, now recovered from his hurts, accompanied them as second.

It is not possible within our present limits to give any detail of the desperate service encountered by this armament in the prosecution of its leader's enterprise: during the space of a fortnight, attempts were made at all hours, and by every means, to reduce the Spaniards; but such was the advantage of their position, that these attempts

invariably failed. At last the admiral, considering that the hostile frigates could not be subdued without risking the utter loss of the Patriot squadron, decided upon pursuing a different plan of operations. On the 7th of October, he accordingly weighed anchor, giving the signal to make for Arica. But of his ships so many proved dull sailers, that it became necessary to divide his force; and he left Captain Guise with a portion of it behind, with directions to "look in," as he termed it, at Pisco.

Three hundred and fifty out of the four hundred marines, were embarked on board the vessels entrusted to Captain Guise; and both Colonel Charles and Major Miller were of the number. As soon as they arrived off the place, preparations were made to land; and on the 7th of November the landing was effected. But the garrison of Pisco was now ascertained to amount to nearly one thousand men, of which one hundred and sixty were cavalry, with four field-pieces; and it was found to be hazardous in the last degree to pursue an undertaking in which, had they sooner been acquainted with its true nature, there was little probability that they would have embarked. Against this, however, the recollection of their repulse before

Callao served sufficiently to steel them; and it was resolved to go on, at all hazards, with a business, in the success of which they hoped to obtain some recompense for past misfortunes.

The little column pushed on in admirable order, till they came in sight of the Spanish corps, its infantry drawn up in the square, its artillery, supported by the cavalry, on a rising ground, which commanded the entrance of the town. There a short halt was made, that the leaders might arrange their plan, after which Colonel Charles, at the head of twenty-five men, filed to his right to reconnoitre; whilst Major Miller, followed by the main body, pressed directly forward. A brisk fire, both of grape and musketry, speedily opened upon them, which did considerable execution; but the Patriots, without returning a shot, still advanced, till scarcely fifteen yards separated the hostile lines. Then the Spaniards, giving their last volley, broke and fled. But though the victory was thus won, and the loss of the enemy great, the Chilenians purchased it at a price which in their eyes was more than commensurate, for Colonel Charles was killed, whilst charging thrice his own numbers, and Miller fell, at the last fire, covered with wounds. His right arm was perforated, his left

hand permanently disabled, and a third ball, breaking one of his ribs, passed out at his back. In this condition he was carried back to the shipping, where but faint hopes were entertained of saving him, and he lay for many weeks incapable of all exertion, and in a state when his removal from one ship to another might have proved fatal.

Whilst Miller was thus confined by his wounds, several services of minor importance were effected; but it was not till the month of February following, when he had again become fit for duty, that any exploit of peculiar hazard or éclat was attempted. Then, however, was that extraordinary feat performed for which Lord Cochrane, as it appears from this narrative, has obtained, at least, his full meed of praise, but in which Major Miller must unquestionably be ranked, if not as the deviser, at all events, as the chief actor. We allude, at present, to the surprise and capture of the forts which command the harbour of Valdivia; and which, as well from their natural situation as from the excellence of their entrenchments, have not inaptly been designated as the Gibraltar of South America. As the whole course of the Transatlantic war produced no deed more striking than this, we need not apologise to our readers for extracting, from

the pages of the work before us, a tolerably full account of it.

Lord Cochrane, after cruising about for some time, determined, in January 1820, to return to Valparaiso, and to look in upon Valdivia by the way. He arrived off the latter place on the 2nd of February, with the O'Higgins in a sinking state, the Montezuma schooner, and Intrepido brig, having Major Miller, with a party of marines, on board. When about thirty miles from land, the troops were removed into the lighter vessels, to one of which, the schooner, Lord Cochrane also shifted his flag; and the frigate, being left to beat off and on, her less formidable partners made what way they could for the port, in the hope of taking the royalists by surprise.

The harbour of Valdivia is situated in 39° 50′ south latitude, and 73° 28′ west longitude, and forms a capacious basin, girdled in by a deep and impenetrable forest, which advances to the water's edge. It is protected on the east by Fort Niebla, on the west by Amargos, completely commanding the entrance, which is only three-quarters of a mile across; and by forts Corral, Chorocomayo, San Carlos, El Yngles, Manzanera, on an island at the extremity, and El Piojo and Carbonero, which bend

round it in a semicircle. These are so placed as not only to defend the approach, but to enfilade one another: they mounted, at this time, one hundred and eighteen pieces of ordnance, eighteen and twenty-four pounders; and they were manned by no fewer than seven hundred and eighty regulars, and eight hundred and twenty-nine militia. Wherever they were not washed by the sea, the faces of these castles were covered by deep ditches and ramparts, with the solitary exception of El Yngles, which had merely a rampart faced with palisades. In addition to all this, it is necessary to state, that such is the nature of the country behind, that no communication by land can be held between one fort and another, except by a path along the beach; and even this, which admits but of one man abreast, was enfiladed, at a point where it crosses a ravine between forts Chorocomayo and Corral, by three guns. Against this place Lord Cochrane determined to make an attempt; and he justified himself to Major Miller by observing, that "they must succeed, because the Spaniards would hardly believe that they were in earnest, even after the attack began."

"The schooner and the brig," says our author, "having hoisted Spanish colours, anchored on the 3rd of February, at

three P.M., under the guns of the fort of El Yngles, opposite the caleta, or landing-place, and between the two. When hailed from the shore, Captain Basques, a Spaniard by birth, who had embarked at Talcahuano as a volunteer, was directed to answer that they had sailed from Cadiz with the S. Elmo, of seventy-four guns, from whose convoy, he added, they had parted, in a gale of wind, off Cape Horn, and requested a pilot might be sent off. At this time the swell was so great as to render an immediate disembarkation impracticable, as the launches would have drifted under the fort. Lord Cochrane's object, therefore, was to wait until the evening, when the wind would have abated, and the swell subsided. The Spaniards, who had already begun to entertain suspicions, ordered the vessels to send a boat ashore; to which it was answered, they had lost them in the severe gales they had encountered. This, however, did not satisfy the garrison, which immediately fired alarm guns, and expresses were despatched to the governor at Valdivia. The garrisons of all the southern forts united at Fort Yngles. Fifty or sixty men were posted on the rampart commanding the approach from the caleta; the rest, about three hundred, formed on a small esplanade in the rear of the fort.

"Whilst this was passing, the vessels remained unmolested; but at four o'clock, one of the launches, which had been carefully concealed from the view of those on shore, by being kept close under the off-side of the vessel unfortunately drifted astern. Before it could be hauled out of sight again, it was perceived by the garrison, which, having no longer any doubts as to the hostile nature of the visit, immediately opened a fire upon the vessels, and sent a party of seventy-five men to defend the landing-place. This detachment was accurately counted by those on board, as it proceeded one by one, along the narrow and difficult path to the caleta. The first shots fired from the fort having passed through the sides of the brig, and killed two men, the troops were ordered up from below, to land without

further delay. But the two launches, which constituted the only means of disembarkation, appeared very inadequate to the effectual performance of such an attempt. Major Miller, with forty-four marines, pushed off in the first launch. After overcoming the difficulties of the heavy swell, an accumulation of sea-weed, in comparatively smooth water, loaded the oars at every stroke and impeded the progress of the assailants, who now began to suffer from the effects of a brisk fire from the party stationed at the landing-place. Amongst others, the coxswain was wounded, upon which Major Miller took the helm. He seated himself on a spare oar, but, finding the seat inconvenient, he had the oar removed, by which he somewhat lowered his position. He had scarcely done so, when a ball passed through his hat, and grazed the crown of his head. He ordered a few of his party to fire, and soon after jumped ashore with his marines, dislodged the Royalists at the inlet, and made good his footing. So soon as the landing was perceived to have been effected, the party, in the second launch, pushed off from the brig; and, in less than an hour, three hundred and fifty Patriot soldiers were disembarked. Shortly after sunset, they advanced, in single files, along the rocky track, leading to Fort El Yngles, rendered slippery by the spray of the surf, which dashed, with deafening noise, upon the shore. This noise was rather favourable than otherwise to the adventurous party. The Royalist detachment, after being driven from the landing-place, retreated along this path, and entered Fort Yngles by a ladder, which was drawn up, and, consequently, the Patriots found nobody *on the outside* to oppose their approach. The men advanced gallantly to the attack, but, from the nature of the track, in very extended order. The leading files were soldiers whose courage had been before proved, and who, enjoying amongst their comrades a degree of deference and respect, claimed the foremost post in danger. They advanced with firm but noiseless step, and, while those who next followed cheered with cries of 'Adelante' (forward),

others, still farther behind, raised clamorous shouts of 'Viva la Patria,' and many of them fired in the air. The path led to the salient angle of the fort, which, on one side, was washed by the sea, and, on the other side, flanked by the forest, the boughs and branches of which overhang a considerable space of the rampart. Favoured by the darkness of the night, and by the intermingling roar of artillery and musketry, by the lashing of the surge, and by the clamour of the garrison itself, a few men, under the gallant Ensign Vedal, crept under the inland flank of the fort; and, whilst the fire of the garrison was solely directed towards the noisy Patriots in the rear, those in advance contrived, without being heard or perceived, to tear up some loosened palisades, with which they constructed a rude scaling-ladder, one end of which they placed against the rampart, and the other upon a mound of earth which favoured the design. By the assistance of this ladder, Ensign Vedal and his party mounted the rampart, got unperceived into the fort, and formed under cover of the branches of the trees which overhung that flank. The fifty or sixty men who composed the garrison, were occupied in firing upon those of the assailants, still approaching in single files. A volley from Vedal's party, which had thus taken the Spaniards in flank, followed by a rush, and accompanied by the terrific Indian yell, which was echoed by the reverberating valleys around, produced terror and immediate flight. The panic was communicated to the column of three hundred men, formed on an arena behind the fort, and the whole body, with the exception of those who were bayoneted, made the best of their way along the path that led to the other forts, but which, in their confusion, they did not attempt to occupy or defend. Upon arriving at the gorge of a ravine, between Fort Chorocomayo and the Castle of Corral, about one hundred men escaped in boats that were lying there, and rowed to Valdivia. The remainder, about two hundred men, neglecting the three guns on the height, which, if properly defended, would have effectually checked the advance of

the pursuers, retreated into the Corral. This castle, however, was almost immediately stormed by the victorious Patriots, who, favoured by a part of the rampart which had crumbled down, and partly filled up the ditch, rushed forward, and thus obtained possession of all the western side of the harbour. The Royalists could retreat no farther, for there the land communication ended. One hundred Spaniards were bayoneted; and about the same number, exclusive of officers, were made prisoners. Such was the rapidity with which the Patriots followed up their success, that the Royalists had not time to destroy their military stores, or even to spike a gun. Daylight of the 4th found the Independents in possession of the five forts—El Yngles, San Carlos, Amargos, Chorocomayo, and Corral."

The fall of these forts was speedily followed by the reduction of Valdivia itself; after which, Lord Cochrane, leaving a detachment to preserve his conquests, set sail for the Island of Chiloe. But his efforts, in this quarter, were not attended with success. On the contrary, the inhabitants, excited by their priests, gave the invaders so warm a reception, that the latter were compelled to take to their boats, and the fleet returned, carrying Major Miller, severely wounded, to Valparaiso.

From this date, up to the middle of August following, little occurred, either in the capital or elsewhere, worthy of notice. The operations of the Independents, cramped by the want of money, extended no further than to desultory inroads here

and there, which were met by corresponding movements on the part of the royalists ;— and Lord Cochrane, already at variance, not only with the native chiefs, but with his countryman, Captain Guise, seems to have lost, for a season, his characteristic activity. But though the case was so, great projects were in view; and great exertions were made by General San Martin to realise them. That indefatigable officer, having completed the liberation of Chile, strained every nerve to bestow a similar favour upon Peru; and he had, at length, the happiness to see before him something like a prospect that his desires would receive their accomplishment. With infinite labour, an army of four thousand five hundred men was drawn together; which on the 19th and 20th of August, embarked, and on the 21st, set sail, under convoy of the ships of war, for Pisco.

To this expedition Miller, now Lieutenant-Colonel, was attached, as commandant of the battalion number eight, of Buenos Ayres. The army reached Pisco in safety, Colonel Miller's transport, alone, having separated from the fleet and narrowly escaped capture; but its proceedings were dilatory, and productive of no satisfactory results. On the 26th of October, it accordingly returned to its ship-

ping, and sailing northward, rendezvoused, on the 29th, in the Bay of Callao. From this port, the transports were sent on to Ancon, where a debarkation took place; and the army once more entered upon a variety of detached services, important, no doubt, in the eyes of those who took part in them, but a great deal too minute to be repeated with any satisfaction to our readers. Not so, however, with the navy. It was at this crisis of the war that Lord Cochrane performed another exploit, which, for boldness of design and promptitude of execution, has rarely been equalled in the annals, even of naval warfare, — by cutting out, from under the guns of Callao, the Spanish frigate, Esmeralda, and bearing her off in triumph with all her crew. But Captain Hall's lively description of this brilliant scene is so universally known, that we need not quote that of the present writer.

While San Martin, with the main body of his army, was maintaining a defensive position at Huacho, a number of detachments were carrying on a species of guerilla warfare, extremely harassing to the royalist chiefs, and creditable to those who conducted them. Among others, Miller was directed, at the head of six hundred men, to place himself under the orders of Lord Cochrane, and to

proceed upon a service, the design and theatre of which were both kept profoundly secret. He set sail, accordingly, on the 13th of March, 1821, and soon found that Pisco was the place of his destination, and that the object of his exertions was to interrupt the communications between Lima and the southern provinces. Colonel Miller made good his landing without opposition, and sustained several unimportant skirmishes with the royalists who were sent to oppose him; but both he and his troops being attacked with ague, it was found necessary to withdraw them, and Lord Cochrane determined to abandon Pisco altogether. Not satisfied, however, to return as they had set out, both the naval and military leaders resolved to hazard an attack upon Arica, before which place they found themselves becalmed on the 6th of May. But the difficulties to be overcome, in landing, were found to be such, as to render a direct assault in front useless; so the troops were removed into two small schooners, and despatched to the Morro de Sama, a port ten leagues to the northward. This they reached after innumerable toils and perils; and Colonel Miller found himself with three hundred and fifty men, whose knees trembled under them from the effects of recent sickness, cast upon

a desert beach, without provisions, and eight long leagues from a spring of wholesome water. The patience of these half civilised Chilenos, under privations so heavy, was boundless. They followed their enterprising leader over an arid desert, and across a mountain so steep as to be impassable for horses, till, after a march of thirteen hours, the entrance of the valley of Sama was gained, and they were blessed with a draught of clear spring water. "So soon as the party caught sight of vegetation, every man rushed forward in search of water; and some who could with difficulty creep till this moment, now ran with the celerity of greyhounds to the valley." At this place some horses were procured; and on the following day, Colonel Miller, with a few mounted soldiers, entered Tacna.

Colonel Miller was now twenty leagues from the coast; and the rumour of his landing having spread, the Spanish General Ramirez made every preparation to oppose him. Three detachments, one of four hundred and eighty, another of two hundred and eighty, and a third of similar force, were ordered to take different routes, and uniting at Tacna, to drive the insurgents into the sea. But the insurgents were not men to be taken asleep. Instead of waiting to be attacked, they

pressed forward with the hope of meeting these corps in detail — and their activity and vigilance received its reward.

Colonel Miller, taking with him three hundred and ten infantry, seventy cavalry, and sixty mounted volunteer peasants, pushed for Bueno Vista, a romantic hamlet at the foot of the Cordillera — from which he crossed fifteen leagues of stony desert towards Mirabe. After a toilsome march of eighteen hours, his little column reached, at midnight, the rugged bank of a stream which rushes through the valley of Mirabe, and saw, by their fires, that one detachment of the royalists was encamped among the cultivated fields which surrounded the village, on the bank opposite. It was Colonel Miller's design to come upon them by surprise; but the indiscreet zeal of a patriot officer rendered this impracticable, and nothing remained but to attack them openly, before they could be joined by a second corps, which was known to be approaching. The cavalry were accordingly pushed across the stream at once; but they were repulsed by the Royalists, already on the alert, and retreated to the river. They were not, however, permitted to repass it, but made to form above the ford; whilst a rocket party being detached to an emi-

nence on the left, and a party of infantry to the right, the enemy's attention was completely drawn away from the point threatened. This done, Colonel Miller made haste to transport his infantry to the other side of the stream. Causing each trooper to take a foot soldier behind him, he conveyed the whole in succession to the opposite bank, totally unobserved by the enemy, — who kept up a ceaseless fire upon the rocket-men, — and then detached a company to occupy certain high grounds which commanded the entire line which the Royalists had assumed. In this position the opposing forces continued till dawn — when, to their utter amazement, the Royalists first discovered that Miller was within musket-shot of them. A brilliant charge was made. Ninety-six Spaniards were killed upon the spot, one hundred and fifty taken prisoners, and the remainder fled in all directions. But the perils of Miller's situation were by no means at an end. This victory was scarcely secured, when a second Spanish corps appeared in sight, mounted upon mules, and preparing to pass the river; and, to oppose these, the patriots, already scattered in pursuit, were hastily recalled to their ranks. The Spaniards, however, seemed nowise desirous of bringing things to the issue of a combat. They

stayed only to receive a few discharges of rockets, when they also broke in confusion and fled.

Having thus triumphed over two of his opponents, the indefatigable Miller made immediate preparation for the discovery and defeat of the third. These he overtook at Calera, sixty-five leagues from Arica; and coming upon them at a moment when he was believed to be many miles distant, he overthrew them with prodigious slaughter. Out of six hundred men who had been especially sent against him, not twenty ever rejoined the Spanish army; and in less than a fortnight from the landing of the expedition, upwards of a thousand Royalists were placed *hors de combat.*

Such successes could not have been obtained, had not the country been every where friendly; but Miller was too weak to turn them to any permanent account. True, recruits were not wanting; and as long as his little store of arms lasted (a store which was collected entirely from his enemies), he found no difficulty in making use of them; but his utmost exertions failed in bringing up his numbers to more than nine hundred men, of whom five hundred alone were effective. Yet with this small force he overran and kept temporary possession of a tract of country measuring

one hundred leagues in length, and thirty in breadth; whilst he contrived to give full employment to General Ramirez, Colonel La Hera, and other Spanish chiefs, with an army of nearly three thousand regular troops. But a struggle so unequal could not be maintained for ever. Miller's followers, harassed by continual marches, became sickly; and he was left at last with barely four hundred men to manœuvre in the face of an entire division. He was reluctantly compelled to retreat. But he showed so excellent a countenance in his retrogression, and ventured, often with half a dozen orderlies, upon enterprises so daring, that the Spaniards were afraid to press him; and he succeeded, in consequence, in reaching Arica, without having received one check, or being once forced to quit a position. Here he re-embarked, though not without extreme hazard, in two or three merchant-vessels which happened to be accidentally in the harbour; and, putting to sea, he betook himself to Quilca, whence he immediately entered upon fresh enterprises. The following anecdote will show how narrowly our brave countryman escaped capture; and how perfectly he retained, at all moments, and under all circumstances, his self-command: —

"Previous to Lieut.-Colonel Miller's arrival, the governor of

Arica had, with very good intentions, sent two or three soldiers aboard a very fine North American schooner, of three hundred tons, to secure her. The master, disliking the embargo, got ready to slip his cable, and put to sea, intending to land the soldiers when and where it suited his convenience. Being informed of the circumstance, upon entering Arica, Miller instantly went on board unaccompanied. He offered the most liberal terms, which were pertinaciously rejected. This refusal rendered the services of the other three vessels unavailable, as they could not have taken off the whole of the troops. During an animated conversation, Lieut.-Colonel Miller, as he paced the quarterdeck, recognised some men amongst the ship's company who had formerly served with him in the Chileno squadron, and who were evidently attending with deep concern to what was passing. It happened that the seamen in the Pacific, whether British or North Americans, whether serving in men-of-war, or in merchant vessels, had always evinced the liveliest interest in the successes of the English leader. It was a feeling which produced an important effect at the present critical juncture. He turned round to them, and made a short address, which proved sufficient. They all answered his appeal by an animated declaration that 'a countryman *hard pushed* should not be forsaken.' After some unavailing remonstrances on the part of the master, he indignantly threw up the command and went on shore. The chief mate prepared to follow, but was prevailed upon to take charge of the vessel. Thus were the patriots relieved from the necessity of contending with the most fearful odds."

In repairing to Quilca, it was Miller's intention to effect a landing there, and to march rapidly upon Arequipa, left unguarded by Ramirez's pursuit of himself to Arica: but the wind was so

boisterous, that to disembark was declared impracticable; and as he had only three days' provisions and water on board, it was impossible to wait till the weather should moderate. Under these circumstances, and in total ignorance of the situation of General San Martin, he took it upon himself to direct his course once more to Pisco. Here he landed on the 2nd of August, an hour before dawn, and took possession of the town, fifty Royalist cavalry evacuating it as he approached.

From Pisco, Miller commenced a career not less brilliant, nor less extraordinary, than that which he had just closed at Arica. Pursuing Colonel Santalla, the governor of the place, who, with two hundred and fifty men, fled before him, he surprised and cut to pieces detachment after detachment, and penetrated far beyond Palpa, within a few marches of Arequipa. In performing these important services he was not a little aided by a sort of Meg Merrilies of the Pampas, whose mules, which had arrived at Pisco for the purpose of conveying into the interior a cargo of brandy, he pressed; and who, though at first extremely indignant, became before long his hearty ally. He was indebted, likewise, largely to the patience and good conduct of his followers, who bore every

hardship without murmuring, and slept frequently among the sand, in holes excavated for the purpose; but the result was the complete subjection of a considerable province, of which Ica is the head, where Miller, now promoted to the rank of Colonel, for a time established himself in the double capacity of military chief and civil governor. But it is time to say something of the operations of the grand army under San Martin, which we left at Huacho, in a state of comparative inactivity.

There existed at this period violent dissensions among the generals in chief of the Royalists, which, while it hindered them from making a proper use of their numerically superior force, was hardly improved, as it might have been, by their adversaries. For awhile, indeed, the progress of several of San Martin's detachments was rapid; the whole of the Sierra of Upper Peru being overrun, and Lima itself occupied; but the former advantage was too readily abandoned, and the whole army unfortunately placed in cantonments in the capital. It is true that Callao was invested on the land side by General Las Heras's division, and at sea by Lord Cochrane, but the Viceroy was permitted to retire leisurely, by the Yanyos road, upon Xauxa; and General Canterac, by way of Lunaguana, to the

same place. These severally reached their point of rendezvous, where they were joined by the division of General Carratala; while San Martin occupied himself in framing laws for the new republic, of which he nominated himself supreme director.

In this state things continued till towards the end of August, when General Canterac, having drawn together three thousand infantry and nine hundred cavalry, advanced to the relief of the castle of Callao, and encamped, on the 9th of September, in sight of San Martin, one mile from the capital, on the Arequipa road. It was impossible that this movement could escape the observation of Colonel Miller, whose monteneros or guerillas hovered on the very flank of the enemy, between Guamanga and Xauxa; and he no sooner ascertained it, than he suspected that a general battle was at hand, from which it would have ill suited his warlike propensities to be absent. He accordingly gave over the command at Ica to his second, Major Vedela; and setting off alone for Lima, arrived there just two days previous to the appearance of Canterac's advanced guard.

Whether the Spaniard had been led to believe that there was a party in Lima, which, on the appear-

ance of an armed force, would rise upon the independents, or whether he had underrated the strength of San Martin's corps, it is hard to say; but when he found the inhabitants of the capital embattled against him, and beheld the liberating army entrenched behind mud walls, he deemed it more prudent to pass by the sea-shore, towards Callao, than to hazard an attack. A corresponding change of position was effected by San Martin, who, however, notwithstanding his great superiority in numbers, avoided a battle; and the two armies continued for a few days to face one another, like mastiffs which know each other's strength, and are equally unwilling to provoke the combat. At last, however, Canterac found it necessary to retreat, his force being wholly inefficient for the object which he had contemplated; and General La Mar was left in Callao, with only three days' provisions to make what terms he could with the besiegers.

Canterac crossed the river Rimac at Bocanegra, on the night of the 17th, closely followed by Las Heras, who was, nevertheless, commanded on no account to risk an action; whilst San Martin, with a thousand infantry and thirty horsemen, continued the blockade of Callao. Las Heras pursued no

further than Los Cavalleros, nine leagues beyond Lima; but Colonel Miller, at the head of seven hundred infantry, one hundred and twenty-five cavalry, and five hundred monteneros, received permission, at 9 A.M. on the 20th, to resume the chase. Much precious time had, however, been lost, and the soldiers of the light division were but ill supplied with provisions or other necessaries; yet such was the diligence of their leader, that the close of the third march brought them up with the enemy's rear, and they ate the very sheep which the Spaniards had cooked for themselves, but were compelled to abandon. From that moment Miller never lost sight of them. He hung upon their rear, skirmishing with their covering parties, and receiving deserters, day and night, till he had seen them as far as Huamantanga, a small town on the crest of an eminence, only two leagues from Puruchuco. Here his advance, of one hundred and twenty-three men, was attacked by two thousand horse and foot, and, in spite of a gallant resistance, driven back; after which, the pursuit was changed into an observation, and the main body of the division ordered off to Lima. But Miller continued with the monteneros, carrying with him thirty chosen dragoons, and passing days and nights amidst the

wildest scenery of that Alpine district; till his health beginning to give way, and no important result promising to occur, he likewise retraced his steps, and retired to the capital. Here he found that the castle of Callao had surrendered, and that the governor, La Mar, had passed over to the patriot cause; and that a difference had already arisen between Cochrane and San Martin, which led, soon after, to the retirement of the former from the Chilean service.

Soon after the return of Colonel Miller to head-quarters, the Peruvian legion of the guard was embodied, consisting of a regiment of hussars, a troop of horse-artillery, and a regiment of infantry. The latter, which numbered two battalions, was given to Miller, and its organisation and instruction constituted for a time his principal business and amusement. Strongly impressed with the excellence of the English system, he did his best to introduce it at length into this new levy, and he so far succeeded, that the regiment acquired an *esprit de corps* unknown elsewhere, the officers messing together without distinction of rank, and the men being minutely attended to in all their wants. His biographer details the particulars of this period in Miller's career with a minuteness which is perfectly

natural, and even agreeable; but we must content ourselves with stating generally that the plan pursued by our countryman was judicious, and produced the happiest results, both to himself and to others.

Whilst these things were going on in Lima, and the city itself was the scene of much festivity and pleasure, the affairs of the patriots underwent a sad reverse at Ica, and all the advantages obtained by the gallantry of Miller were lost through the inexperience or imprudence of his successor in command. San Martin had, it appeared, superseded Major Vedela, to make room for Don Domingo Tristan, a man of no reputation as a soldier, and a late convert to the independent cause, who conducted himself with so little care, that Canterac, making a sudden march from the valley of Xauxa, attacked him when unprepared, and totally routed him. The consequence was that Ica, where considerable stores had been laid up, fell into the hands of the Royalists, the whole district changed masters, and one thousand prisoners, taken in the action, went to swell the amount of the victor's force. This disaster was hardly compensated by two victories obtained about the same time — one in Columbia, by General Sucre, by which the whole

of that province was freed; and the other by Colonel Lavalle, at Rio Bamba, over a superior force of the enemy. But other changes besides those occasioned by the accidents of war were pending, the effects of which came, before long, to be felt throughout all the colonies.

General San Martin having accomplished the deliverance of lower Peru, determined to resign the supreme authority which he had hitherto exercised, and retire into private life. On the 20th of September, 1822, he accordingly caused a congress to be installed, into whose hands he committed the governing power; and departed immediately afterwards, followed by the gratitude of all ranks, for Chile. As soon as this was done, the congress proceeded to appoint a Junta Gubernativa, on whom the duties of the executive might devolve, and the choice falling upon Generals La Mar and Alvarado, with the Count Villa Florida, these persons immediately assumed the dignity which San Martin had laid aside.

Before, however, this change was effected, an expedition to the Puertos Intermedios, as they are called, that is, to the line of coast lying between Ocona and Iquique, had been resolved upon, the direction and management of which was to be en-

trusted to Colonel Miller. Fifteen hundred men being placed at his disposal, he was to make good his landing at Iquique, and marching rapidly against General Olaneta, whose division of three or four thousand men was scattered in the department of Potosi, confident hopes were entertained that he would be enabled to defeat it in detail, by which means the whole of Upper Peru would be cleared of Royalists and added to the republic. Both the Protector and Colonel Miller were the more confident of success, that the people of the province were known to be universally well affected; and the latter proposed to carry with him ample supplies of arms, with which to equip the recruits by whom he calculated upon being joined in great numbers.

When the period fixed upon for embarkation drew near, the above plan was communicated to General Alvarado, who considered the end to be attained so extremely important that he proposed to proceed upon it in person, at the head of four thousand men. This proposal was acceded to; and after a considerable delay, arising chiefly from the want of money — (an inconvenience in their endeavour to remedy which the Junta Gubernativa had well nigh involved themselves in disputes with

the British naval commander on the coast) — three thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine men were equipped, and embarked on board of transports in the bay of Callao. The first battalion of the Peruvian Legion, with Colonel Miller at its head, formed part of this force, and the whole set sail in two divisions, with instructions to rendezvous first at Iquique, and secondly, in the event of that failing, at a point sixty miles S.W. of Arica.

To favour this effort, four thousand men, who remained in Lima, under General Arenales, were to advance upon Xauxa, where General Canterac, with five thousand troops, was posted. This movement, it was calculated, would hinder the Spanish general from detaching to the assistance of Olaneta, whose force amounted to about six thousand men, but sadly scattered, — one half, under Valdez, occupying the Puertos Intermedios, whilst the remainder were, with the commander-in-chief, in Potosi. The plan was unquestionably a good one, and it alarmed the Royalists so much that the Viceroy Laserna wrote from Cuzco to the Minister of War in Spain, that, unless powerful reinforcements should arrive speedily from Europe, it would be impossible to continue the war; but its execution was entrusted to one who possessed neither the

activity of body nor enterprise of mind requisite to the performance of such a task. General Alvarado, after effecting his debarkation, remained inactive three whole weeks in the vicinity of Arica; and the Spaniards, who had just cause to apprehend disasters, before their separated columns could be brought together, were enabled to collect a force amply sufficient to set all his future efforts at defiance.

Against this state of ruinous inaction Colonel Miller remonstrated so warmly that a coolness arose between him and the commander-in-chief, and the former actually embarked, by the express permission of the latter, to return to Lima. But Miller's talents were too well known, and too justly appreciated, to allow of his being thus treated by an officer of Alvarado's consideration. He was warmly entreated to return, and at last it was agreed that he should proceed, with a small force, to the coast of Cumana, where he might act independently, to draw off a division of Canterac's and Carratala's forces from the main army. He had hardly done so when Alvarado commenced a series of military movements, every one of which proved to be faulty in the extreme. Instead of taking his enemy by surprise, he was himself surprised, and

division after division of his corps put to the rout. On the 19th of October a general action was fought, the Royalists being commanded by Valdez, and supported by the cavalry of Canterac, in which Alvarado gained no advantage; and a second battle ensuing on the 21st, the patriots were totally defeated. Colonel Miller's battalion, of which the light company only accompanied himself, was cut to pieces; and out of the three thousand five hundred men, originally landed, scarcely six hundred made their escape to the transports.

While these things were going on in one quarter, Colonel Miller was, in another, spreading alarm and dismay over a wide extent of country, though the whole force under his orders amounted to only one light company of a hundred and twenty men. On Christmas day, the brig Protector, in which he was embarked, brought up in the roadstead of Quilca, close to his Britannic Majesty's ship Aurora; and at midnight, Miller and his adventurous band were in possession of the village, and busily preparing for future undertakings. To march upon Cumana, and occupy it was the business of the following night, where they were well received, both by the inhabitants and magistracy; and learning that Lieutenant-Colonel Pinera had fled, with eighty

men, across the river, only three hours before, an immediate pursuit was instituted. With some difficulty, a ford was discovered, Pinera having taken the precaution to destroy the *valsas*, by which the stream is usually crossed; and the Royalists being overtaken fast asleep, in a field about eight leagues on the road to Majes, twenty-five were made prisoners, and the remainder dispersed.

Miller's great business was to induce a general belief, that he had landed at the head of a considerable division, and he adopted the following admirable plan for that purpose. Leaving the main body of his little party at Cumana, he himself set out with fourteen soldiers mounted, and crossed a valley eighteen leagues on the road to Arequipa, whither he had been given to understand that Carratala had advanced, with the design of bringing him to action. To intimidate his adversary, Miller wrote to the commandant of Arequipa, informing him that a patriot army would enter the town that night, and begging that the Royalist would leave a piquet of his soldiers behind, to protect the property of individuals, till he, with his corps, should arrive to relieve it. This letter, Colonel Miller took care to despatch by a peasant, whom he deceived, by a variety of expedients, into

the persuasion that eight hundred cavalry were about him; and, as the messenger was strictly enjoined to report that Miller's whole force fell short of four hundred men, his statement, that it really exceeded eight hundred, received a ready credence. The Royalists fell back without delay, and Miller went on, pushing his reconnoissances in every direction.

Having spent many days thus, he returned to Quilca, carrying with him several prisoners, and, among others, Lieutenant-Colonel Vidal, whom he had surprised, in one of the straggling cottages, which are scattered through the valley of Vitor. He was cautiously followed by Carratala, who re-entered Arequipa on the 2nd of January, but hesitated long and fearfully before he would trust himself into the valley. Miller was not slow to turn the apprehensions of his opponents to account. He advanced again without delay, carrying the whole of his company with him; and, on the 6th, took possession of Ocoña, destroying all the valsas on the river Cumana, and so throwing a serious obstacle in the way of Carratala's further approach.

Having taken these precautions, he calculated that he had at least four days to spare. He left

Major Lyra in command at Ocoña, and set off with fifteen soldiers, and half a dozen peasants, to reconnoitre Carabeli, a town thirty-eight leagues north-east of Ocoña, where he expected to obtain information touching the movements of the Spanish Colonel Manzanedo. He had not, however, ridden far, when the Major, less daring than his chief, sent a messenger in pursuit to report that Carratala was approaching, and begging him to return. Miller would not believe the account, though he so far acted upon it as to retrace his steps; but, before he reached Ocoña, the alarm was ascertained to be groundless, and the mere trick of a treacherous negro of bad. character. The man being examined, and found guilty, was shot, and Miller resumed his journey.

At midnight, on the 7th, he reached Carabeli, where the royal authority was instantly dissolved, and a new municipality instituted; but this was scarcely done, and Miller had just thrown himself upon a bed, worn down with fatigue, when another express arrived from Lyra, to communicate that the enemy was advancing. Miller immediately mounted his horse, and, directing his escort to make the best of their way to Planchada, on the coast, proceeded himself, in company with a single

guide, across the desert, towards Ocoña. He rode till an overpowering drowsiness caused him to drop from his saddle upon the sand, when, twisting the bridle round his arm, he fell into a profound sleep, from which he did not wake till dawn on the following morning. On the 9th, he reached Ocoña, to discover that this time the alarm was well grounded. The company was ordered to retreat, but Miller, with six videttes, and two buglers, took post upon the bank of the river, where by repeated demonstrations, and a constant sound of trumpets, he caused the enemy to linger during two whole days. By this means, the Independents were enabled to embark leisurely, and in order; and the whole set sail, just as Colonel San Juangeno, with a large force, reached the outskirts of Planchada.

In such services, resembling more the exploits of romance than those of real warfare, Colonel Miller spent ten entire weeks. Landing here and there, he contrived to draw, with his little corps, not fewer than two thousand men from the Royalist army; and these he harassed so severely, by continual marches and counter-marches, that hundreds perished of fatigue, or deserted. Wherever he chanced to be,

"Reports were constantly circulated of reinforcements having

landed on some part or another of the coast. Every vessel that appeared in sight, or was pretended to have been seen, at the setting of the sun, produced an ostentatious order to light fires on the hills, to place peasantry on the shore, and to take other bustling measures, until not the shadow of a doubt remained on the public mind that the Patriot detachment was perfectly at ease, and on the point of making a serious attack. Communications from Cantarac to Manzanedo were intercepted by the party at Ocoña; the originals were kept, and others counterfeited, and sent in their stead. Other letters were written in cipher, or in a mysterious style, for the express purpose of being intercepted, and which made Manzanedo doubt the fidelity of his own officers. Cordova and Rodriguez, two distinguished and influential priests, were particularly useful in the execution of these stratagems. Cordova willingly acted as secretary. He accompanied Miller in his excursions, and, from his acquaintance with all parties, and the high estimation in which he was held, was enabled to render essential services. He was of a jovial turn; and often, when half the night had been consumed in despatching letters in various directions, he and Millar would pass the remainder in hearty laughs at the strangeness of their productions, and in speculating with great glee upon the probable results. Daylight sometimes warned them to lay aside the cigar, and to seek their hammocks for a few hours' repose.

"A flag of truce was, on some frivolous pretence, sent to Manzanedo. An officer, and three negro soldiers, on this occasion, wore the cockade of Chile. Miller availed himself of the opportunity to send an open letter to his friend, the Royalist, General Loriga. He wrote a great deal of nonsense, and told the general that he knew the road to Cuzco, and hoped shortly to meet him there. The compliments of Colonel Sanchez were added in a postscript, whom Loriga knew no more of, than that he commanded the battalion, No. 4, of Chile. When Manzanedo's answer arrived, it was managed that the bearer should

be received, when the little band of Patriots appeared to be an advanced guard. Fires were kindled at night: and, by the bustle, it might easily be imagined that the troops were numerous. Amongst other tricks, a soldier was sent in great haste to the house where the Royalist officer lodged, to borrow a *xeringa* for Colonel Sanchez, who, it was pretended, had been taken with a surfeit, but who, in reality, was with General Alvarado, seventy leagues off. A great bustle was made in arousing the hostess. Colonel Miller entered the house soon afterwards, and expressed, in a conversational tone, his fears that the remedy would not be administered in time to save the life of poor Sanchez.

"The Royalist officer was, on the next morning, civilly dismissed; and it was contrived, that the blacks, who had accompanied the flag of truce, should be placed in his way. Some other negroes, in the fatigue dress of the legion, were dispersed about in a manner to make him believe that they belonged to another regiment. Half a mile on his road, he saw officers, galloping about, and bawling after men purposely scattered, and ordering them to their encampment in the rear. The Royalist officer said, when going away, to the hostess,—'It is all very well for Miller to have a couple of battalions: but we have a couple as well as he.' Manzanedo retreated from Chumpi to Pausa, a distance of fourteen leagues; he afterwards advanced three times upon the patriots, but as often retreated. Half-a-dozen veterans, and a montenero party, several of which had been lately organised, were quite sufficient to make him retrograde, because he thought them the advance of a larger force."

Against hardships such as he was necessitated to undergo, and an absolute deprivation of rest to mind and body, Miller's constitution could not hold out for ever. He was at last attacked by *cholera*

morbus; and, being carried in a litter to the sea-side, he caused his followers to re-embark, and return to Lima.

In the meanwhile, various events had occurred in the capital, which speedily brought about a complete revolution, and placed the supreme power, civil as well as military, in new hands. General Arenales, who had been left in command of this army of observation, instead of acting with vigour against the Royalists in Xauxa, contented himself with moving a few leagues in advance of Lima, by which means Canterac was enabled to detach largely to the support of Valdez, and both united to destroy the corps of Alvarado. The chiefs and officers of the army of observation took just umbrage at this; and rising in a body, they not only removed Arenales from his command, but displaced the Junta Gubernativa; appointing Colonel Don Jose de la Riva Aguera, president of the republic, and General Santa Cruz, commander-in-chief. These changes gave universal satisfaction, as did the promotion of Colonel Miller to the rank of General of Brigade, which took place on the 8th of April, 1823; and to Miller himself, the increase of rank proved the more gratifying, that he was still permitted to remain in command of the legion.

Soon after the above revolution was effected, certain information reached Lima, that an army of nine thousand men, under Canterac, was about to move from Xauxa, for the purpose of recovering possession of the capital and province of Lower Peru. To counteract this, it was resolved that Santa Cruz, at the head of a large force, should make a fresh irruption into the Puertos Intermedios; and he proceeded accordingly, with five thousand Peruvian troops, in the month of June, to Iquique. The expedition had hardly sailed, when Canterac, confident that no such effort would be made, broke up from his cantonments. He pushed forward with so much vigour, that the patriots were unable to arrange their plans, or to equip a force at all adequate to oppose him; and he entered Lima on the 18th of June; Riva Aguera, and the other republican functionaries retiring to Callao. There fresh intrigues arose, and Riva Aguera being in his turn deposed, the supreme authority, civil as well as military, was assumed by General Sucre.

On the 20th of June, General Canterac made a reconnoissance of the fortress, forming the whole of his troops in line within range of the castle. Whilst the light troops, on both sides, were briskly

skirmishing, General Miller, who happened to be in front, was addressed by the Spanish colonel, Amellar, whom he had often seen at the outposts; who, after giving him the customary salutation, said, "Your friend Loriga is close at hand." Loriga immediately galloped down; and the two friends, who had both become generals since their last meeting, held a conversation for a quarter of an hour, in advance of their respective outposts, which, as well as the artillery from the ramparts, continued their fire all the while, without seeking to molest them. On quitting Miller, Loriga shook hands with him warmly; and then, with an expression of peculiar *naïveté*, inquired after *his friend*, Colonel Sanchez, of No. 4, of Chile.

The blockade of Callao lasted no longer than till the 10th of June, when the successes of General Santa Cruz, who overran the whole country from Arica up to Oruro, recalled the attention of Canterac to that quarter. He broke up from before the place, soon after General Sucre had despatched a fresh force of three thousand men to support Santa Cruz; and, abandoning Lima, withdrew to Huancavelica, from whence strong reinforcements were sent off to sustain Valdez, and to preserve Upper Peru. It was General Miller's fortune to

accompany the force of which we have just spoken. He landed at Chala on the 21st of July, in command of the cavalry; Sucre himself following with the infantry; and on the 26th of August the whole force was concentrated in the valley of Siguas, several Royalist detachments retreating before it.

By this time, however, the indefatigable Valdez had succeeded in obtaining several advantages over Santa Cruz, whose first successes had inspired him with so much confidence that he declined the proffered co-operation of Sucre's corps. Santa Cruz determined upon a retreat; but he wavered so long as to the proper course to be pursued, that the road of communication between himself and Sucre was occupied; and the viceroy forming a junction with Olaneta, an overwhelming force was turned against him. Nothing now remained but to fall back upon the shipping; but the route was by a desert—and the Royalists hanging upon the rear of the retiring patriots, the latter deserted in great numbers from their standards. Finally, Santa Cruz escaped on board the O'Higgins, carrying with him no more than one thousand three hundred men; and as many of these were put on board of transports which afterwards foundered at sea, less than a thousand men, out of seven thou-

sand, regained Lima. This was a disastrous issue to an expedition from which so much had been expected — and it brought other evils in its train. Sucre's corps, unequal to make head against the victorious Royalists, was likewise compelled to retreat; a movement which was not made without some loss and great hazard; but it escaped at last — the infantry by sea, the cavalry under General Miller, through two hundred leagues of desert to Lima.

In that place affairs continued to go on so unprosperously, that the Liberator, Bolivar, was induced to repair thither in person, in order, if possible, to put an end to the cabals which were continually operating to the detriment of the general cause. He found the Marquess of Torre Tagle, to whom General Sucre had entrusted the temporary rule, a man open to every species of bribery and corruption, and his authority disputed by the ex-president Riva Aguera, who had contrived to collect an armed party, to support his claims, in the department of Truxillo. — Bolivar was hailed at Lima as a deliverer; and he immediately took upon himself the full powers, leaving to Torre Tagle nothing more than the title of Head of the Republic. But even to him Riva Aguera refused

to submit; and Peru would have been, in all probability, the theatre of intestine war, had not the latter chief been betrayed by one of his own followers. He was condemned to be shot — which punishment was commuted for banishment; after which, things assumed an appearance of greater order, under Bolivar as supreme director. It is worthy of remark that the very same spirit of discord which tended so much to weaken the hands of the Independents, was in full operation at this time among their enemies. Olaneta, an ultra-royalist, withdrew his allegiance from the viceroy Laserna, because the latter had, in 1820, acknowledged the authority of the Spanish junta; and he was now at the head of five thousand men in Potosi — an object of equal distrust to his countrymen with the patriot chiefs.

At the period when these changes were going on, General Miller, who after his return to Lima had been attacked with severe fever and ague, was seeking a restoration to health in the genial climate of Santiago. There intelligence reached him that the Patriot garrison of Callao had revolted; that the castle was once more in possession of the Royalists, and that a decisive campaign was at hand. General Miller required no urging to with-

draw him from the pleasures of social life when the path of glory was open; so he hurried back to Lima, where he arrived in time to receive the chief command of the cavalry of Peru.

We regret extremely that the length to which this paper has already extended will not permit us to give more than a very meagre and imperfect outline of the series of operations which ensued. We must content ourselves with stating, that General Bolivar marched at the head of nine thousand men to meet the Viceroy,—that the advance of his column was gallantly covered by General Miller, first with a body of monteneros, and afterwards with the cavalry, — and that numerous occasions presented themselves in which the last mentioned officer had an opportunity of again displaying that activity and military enterprise for which his name is, in the New World, so memorable. In crossing the Andes, in particular, his services became peculiarly valuable, not only in the more daring exploits of open war, but in providing the means of subsistence for his comrades; and that the reader may the better understand how this was effected, we extract the following sentences from the work before us: —

"Depôts of provisions and forage were secreted in mountain

caverns, formed by the galleries of exhausted mines. Some of these depôts were established within the line of country nominally possessed by the Royalists. That near Pachia, and on the same bank of the Rio Grande, was only eight leagues from Tarma. The entrance of the cave was in the perpendicular side of a cliff fifty or sixty feet from the ground, and as many from the top. The only way to get up was by the assistance of a rope fixed in the cave, and by notches cut in the rock to give foot hold. Indian corn, salt, charqui (jerked beef), potatoes, and barley, were hoisted up by means of the rope. A few men were sufficient to defend these cavern depôts against any numbers. It often happened that when the monteneros advanced these depôts were left exposed; but the Royalists were not always aware of their exact situation, and entertained no suspicion that supplies had been accumulated in that way to any considerable extent."

The liberating army crossed the Cordillera in divisions, one following another at the interval of a day's journey, but the cavalry, and indeed the battalions, often diverged from the general line of march. This is not to be wondered at when we bear in mind that the only road was an indistinct footpath, which wound over ledges of bare rock, and would frequently admit of no more than one person abreast, and that the column in single file, often broken by gullies and glens, extended sometimes many miles from the head to the cue. In traversing such a district, losses, both of men and horses, could not always be avoided, but of the

latter the utmost care was taken by express orders from Bolivar, and the former contrived to escape from many perils, which, under different circumstances, they would have hardly faced.

It was well for the liberating army, that their late successes had inspired the Royalists with such confidence as to prevent their taking the most ordinary precautions in this emergency. Instead of hushing up their private quarrels, Olaneta still kept aloof from his brother generals, and full occupation was given to a corps of five thousand men in watching his movements. Canterac, however, who remained at Xauxa, at the head of a formidable army, no sooner ascertained that Bolivar was in march towards him, than he advanced in the direction of Reyes, under the full persuasion that he would be able to destroy the Independents whilst debouching from the mountains; but that opportunity was lost, for Bolivar was already at hand; and on the 5th of August the two armies came in sight of one another. A brilliant affair of cavalry ensued on the Plain of Junin, a little southward of Reyes, in which the patriots, led on by Miller, were completely successful, and in which the Spaniards lost nineteen officers, and three hundred

and forty-five rank and file killed, besides eighty prisoners. Canterac immediately retreated, and Bolivar pushed on to Guamanga, where he went into cantonments.

Taking it for granted that the campaign was, for the present, at an end, the Liberator retired to Lima, leaving General Sucre in temporary command. He had not departed many days, when a variety of rumours came in, all of them confirmatory of the suspicions which General Miller had from the first entertained that the Royalists would not continue in the state of supineness to which they had of late given way. It was ascertained that Valdez, by one of those extraordinary marches for which he was celebrated, had joined Canterac in the province of Cuzco; and that the Viceroy was preparing, in person, to take the field. Miller was immediately despatched to the front to reconnoitre. He pursued his old plan, passing from village to village with wonderful celerity, till he might be said to mingle with the enemy's outposts, and yet be unseen; and he picked up the most ample information, as well respecting the force and condition of the Royalists, as of their intended plans and lines of operation. In executing this perilous duty, Miller's escapes were frequently such

as to astonish even himself. We must describe one of them.

On a certain occasion, this enterprising officer set out, attended by a small escort, towards Guaillate, to ascertain whether or not the Viceroy was moving, as had been reported, in that direction. He had ascended about two leagues, when abruptly reaching a summit, he beheld the whole Royalist army in full march for Mamara, a village in the same valley which he had just crossed, and, as it were, beneath him. He had scarcely time to shift his saddle from a mule, on which he was riding, to his charger, ere a party of hussars, which were sent in pursuit, reached the spot; and he escaped only by riding boldly down a precipice, where one false step of his horse must have hurled him to instant death. Miller continued his retreat by the opposite side of the valley, and passed within half a league of Mamara, on the heights above which he could count the Royalist columns in bivouac; but all knowledge of his "whereabouts" was lost, and he and his followers wandered about till three in the morning, when they halted at random among a cluster of deserted huts.

Next day, Miller reached Chuquibamba, where he found a brother soldier, Colonel Althaus, em-

ployed, like himself, in collecting intelligence. Him he sent a league to the rear; but he himself remained in the town with Captain Melendez, and two or three men, by whom large fires were lighted for the purpose of deceiving the enemy into a belief that the place was occupied in force.

"The priest of the village," continues his biographer, "promised to give timely warning of the approach of an enemy, which could easily be done, because the only entrance on the Mamara side, was by a bridge over an unfordable torrent. As an additional security, Miller sent, unknown to the priest, a couple of Indians, to keep watch also. Under the impression of security, Miller took off his clothes for the first time for a fortnight, and retired to rest. The Royalist general, Valdez, never deficient in courtesy, and who had, a few days before, sent Miller a box of Havannah cigars, now despatched a company of infantry to procure him the society of his opponent. In the course of the night, some Indians, employed by the Spaniards, entered the village, and were suffered to return; of this Miller was informed by his own scouts, and contrary, as it afterwards appeared, to the wishes of the priest, who reckoned upon making his peace with the Royalists, by betraying his guest. On the first alarm, Miller rode to an eminence on the way to Lambrama, over against Chuquibamba. The Royalists, who had been deterred by the blaze of fires from advancing, ran into the town at daybreak. At this moment, the Indians, instigated by the priest, rose *en masse*. They perched themselves on the hills, and hurled down stones upon the patriots without mercy. General Miller's charger, considered the finest horse in the army, and the one on which he rode at the battle of Junin, fell, with an orderly, into their hands. Colonel Althaus, who had taken up his quarters at a little distance from

the road, had sent his party on towards Lambrama, and remained behind with a few attendants. On hearing the shouts of the Indians, Althaus retired; but finding they gained upon him, he dismounted, to remove the saddle from his milk-white mule to his best horse, while the attendants, being in advance, galloped off without looking behind them. The Colonel was thus left on foot, and alone. So long as the road was tolerably open, he kept the Indians at bay with his sword; but when he came to a narrow pass, they closed upon him, bound his arms, and conducted him to Chuquibamba. It is probable they would have taken his life, but that his clerical figure led them to imagine that he was a regimental chaplain, an illusion which Althaus took no pains to dispel."

From dangers such as these General Miller continued, by dint of great activity and self-possession, to escape; and, at last, rejoined the liberating army, now in full retreat. On the 7th, headquarters were at Lambrama; on the 9th, at Casinchigua; and on the 20th of November, the advanced guards of the hostile armies met on the heights of Bombon, near Chincheros. After a brief contest, the Royalists were driven down into the valley of Pomacochas, and across the river Pampas, by the bridge of Bijucos, which they destroyed. They afterwards bivouacked on the heights of Conception, the Patriots occupying those of Bombon; by which means the valley alone divided the one from the other, rendering the position of each equally secure. But no great space of time was spent in

repose. At dawn on the 25th, it was discovered that the Spanish tents and huts had disappeared, and the columns were soon afterwards seen passing the river at Huancaray, and moving upon the flank of the Independents.

General Sucre lost no time in recommencing his retreat, but crossed the valley with all speed, in order to restore his communications with Lima. He was closely followed by the Viceroy, who manœuvred to gain the rear of his retiring adversary; and, on the 3rd of December, the lines were so close to one another that to avoid coming to blows was impracticable. A sharp affair accordingly took place, between the Royalist division Valdez, and the Independent rear-guard, in which the latter were roughly handled; indeed, the consequences might have been fatal to the liberating army, but for the promptitude of Miller, in rallying a broken regiment of infantry, and covering the retreat of the defeated cavalry. Nor was it from such encounters only that the patriots began now to suffer. Many instances of desertion occurred; whilst the Indians, imagining that all was lost, rose upon their stragglers and detached corps, and cut them off in great numbers. Yet was the retreat continued with much skill, and the most determined

perseverance; though all began, before long, to perceive that nothing short of a decisive victory could preserve the army from absolute destruction.

Sucre twice offered battle to his pursuers, on ground which held out no very decided advantages to either party; but the challenge was, on each occasion, declined: indeed, the Viceroy appeared so confident of reducing the patriots to extremities, that he avoided many inviting opportunities of bring matters to the issue of a struggle. Nor is his policy to be reprehended. Sucre's corps was now reduced from nine to little more than four thousand fighting men; he retained but a single gun out of all his train; and the horses of his cavalry had become in many instances unserviceable, from fatigue, the want of nutriment, and the loss of shoes. The Royalists, on the other hand, though equally suffering from fatigue, were greatly superior in numbers; their appointments, more especially those of the cavalry, were of the best description; and past successes had given to them a degree of confidence, which promised to carry them happily through any trials either of courage or patience. It was, therefore, natural in their leader to expect that a campaign of marches would lead to a result as favourable as could arise out of the most success-

ful contest. That, however, which his prudence led him to shun, the impatience of his troops, and the remonstrances of his junior officers, at length effected; and a battle was fought on the 9th of December, by which the fate of South America may be said to have been determined.

On the night of the 8th, the two armies formed themselves in position, the Independents in a hollow, or rather upon the summit of a little table-land, having the Indian village of Quinua, on the western extremity of the plain of Ayacucho, in their rear; and the Spaniards, along the front of the ridge of Condorkanki, within musket-shot of the foot of the hill, and of the enemy's outposts. Here the patriots determined to make their final stand; and here the Viceroy, acting rather by the advice of others than according to the dictates of his own judgment, resolved to attack them. Both armies accordingly drew out in battle array, at the first peep of dawn, on the 9th; and, at nine o'clock, a Spanish division, commanded by General Villalobos, began to descend. The Viceroy, on foot, placed himself at its head; and the files wound down the craggy sides of the Condorkanki, obliquing a little to their left.

"The division Monet, forming the Royalist right, commenced at the same to defile directly into the plain. The cavalry, lead-

ing their horses, made the same movement, though with great difficulty, at intervals, between the infantry of each division. This was a moment of extraordinary interest. It appeared as though respiration were suspended by feelings of anxiety, mingled with doubts and hope."

It was during this operation, which had an imposing effect, that General Sucre rode along his own line, and, addressing a few emphatic words to each corps, recalled to memory its former achievements. He then placed himself in a central point, in front of his line, and, in an inspiring tone of voice, said, "that upon the efforts of that day depended the fate of South America;" then, pointing to the descending columns, he assured his men "that another day of glory was about to crown their admirable constancy." This animating address of the General produced an electric effect, and was answered by enthusiastic *vivas*.

"By the time that rather more than half the Royalist divisions Monet and Villalobos had reached and formed upon the arena, General Sucre ordered the division Cordova, and two regiments of cavalry, to advance to the charge. The gallant Cordova dismounted and placed himself about fifteen yards in front of his division, formed into four parallel columns, with the cavalry in the intervals. Holding his hat with his left hand, above his head, he exclaimed, '*Adelante, paso de vencedores*' (onwards, with the step of conquerors). The words, pronounced with dignified animation, were heard distinctly throughout the columns, which, inspired by the gallant bearing

of their leader, moved to the attack in the finest possible order. The Spaniards stood firmly, and full of apparent confidence. The Viceroy, Monet, and Villalobos, were seen at the head of their respective divisions, superintending the formation of their columns as they reached the plain. The hostile bayonets crossed, and for three or four minutes the two parties were seen struggling together, so as to leave it doubtful which should give way. At this moment the Columbian cavalry, headed by Colonel Silva, charged. This brave officer fell covered with wounds; but the intrepidity of the onset was irresistible. The Royalists lost ground, and were driven to the heights of Condorkanki with great slaughter. The Vice-King was wounded and taken prisoner. As the fugitives climbed the sides of Condorkanki, the patriots kept up a well-directed fire, and numbers of the enemy were seen to drop and roll down, till their progress was arrested by the brushwood or some jutting crag.

"General Miller, who had accompanied Cordova's division, perceiving its complete success, returned to the regiment of Usares de Junin, which fortunately, as it subsequently turned out, had been left in reserve.

"At dawn of day the Royalist division Valdez had commenced a detour of nearly a league. Descending the sides of Condorkanki on the north, Valdez placed himself on the left of the patriots at musket-shot distance, separated by a ravine. At the important moment of the battle just described, he opened a heavy fire from four field-pieces and a battalion in extended files. By this he obliged two battalions of the Peruvian division La Mar to fall back. The Columbian battalion Bargos, sent to support the Peruvian division, began also to give way. Two Royalist battalions crossed the deep ravine already spoken of on the left, and advanced in double-quick time in pursuit of the retiring patriots. At this critical juncture, General Miller led the hussars of Junin against the victorious Spaniards, and by a timely charge drove them back, and followed them across

the ravine—being further supported by the *Granaderos a Cavallo* and by the division La Mar, which had rallied. The artillery of Valdez was taken, his cavalry retired, and his infantry dispersed."

The Royalists thus repulsed at every point lost all confidence and order, and fled with the utmost precipitation to the heights of Condorkanki; but to retreat further, with any hope of ultimate escape, was impracticable. Shortly before sunset, therefore, General Canterac, on whom the chief command had devolved, sued for terms; and the remains of the Spanish army laid down their arms and became prisoners of war. A capitulation likewise was entered into, by which the castles of Ulloa, and indeed every place of strength then held by the Royalists, were given up to the Patriots; and South America became, to all intents and purposes, independent.

We must not lengthen out our present paper, which has already far exceeded the limits originally designed for it, by extracting any one of the numerous and entertaining adventures to which the subsequent course of events gave birth. Miller was, in due time, rewarded for his exertions, by large grants of land and the rank of General of Division, and, upon the formal termination of the

war, the civil government of the department of Potosi was allotted to him. Here, by the integrity of his proceedings, the suavity of his manners, and the good sense which characterised his schemes, he soon became as popular as he had previously been with the army; and his name will long be coupled, in the minds of the inhabitants at large, with all that is just, noble, and generous.

We believe that the brave and meritorious individual, of whose career we have drawn this sketch, is now Her Britannic Majesty's consul-general in the Sandwich Islands. His popularity with the republic which he had contributed so largely to establish did not long outlast the war of independence; and refusing to become the tool of any of the factions which alternately oppressed and plotted against one another, he was glad in the end to escape with life from the land of his adoption. He quitted South America in 1834 or 1835, as poor a man as he was when first he entered the service of Buenos Ayres. The reception which awaited him in London did not prove quite so cordial as it had been when in 1827 he visited this country, fresh from the scene of his exploits. Then all the saloons of lion-hunters were open to him; and the handsome and distinguished soldier of fortune

might have been pardoned had he begun to believe in the smiles of the fickle goddess. Now, a few sincere friends alone stood by him; among whom Whig statesmen, no longer in opposition, could scarcely be numbered. For, brilliant as his talents were admitted to be as a partisan officer, and perfect master as he was of the Spanish language, no employment could be found for him even with General Evans's legion, then in the heyday of its renown. At last he was taken up by Lord Aberdeen, who appointed him to the Consulate which he still holds, and in which capacity, on the occasion of the French differences with Queen Pomare, he rendered excellent service. He deserved, in our opinion, a better fate, and would have attained it, too, under any system of government less fettered by routine than that under which the affairs of this favoured nation are administered.

INDIA AND ITS ARMY.*

WE have no intention of criticising the merits, literary or otherwise, of the works which, in their titles, stand at the head of this Essay. They are full of interest, every one of them; not more on account of the importance of the subjects to which they refer, than because they are suggestive to such as read them attentively of very grave reflections. Who can doubt that for the last twelve or thirteen years the existence of the British empire in the

* The following are the titles of the works on which this Essay was based on its publication in the "Edinburgh Review" in 1853:—

1. *A Letter to the Marquess of Tweeddale.* By Major-General BRIGGS, Madras Army. 1842.

2. *The War in Affghanistan.* By JOHN WILLIAM KAYE. 2 vols. 1851.

3. *History of General Sir Charles Napier's Administration of Scinde.* By Lieutenant-General Sir WILLIAM NAPIER, K.C.B. 1851.

4. *Remarks on the Affairs of India.* By JOHN SULLIVAN, Esq. 1852.

5. *Report from the Select Committee on our Indian Territories.* 1852.

East has been hanging continually in the balance? Who can flatter himself that the scales have even now subsided into their proper places, and that all danger is past? Had the native powers better understood one another, and the disaffected within our own provinces been more energetic in their councils, the disasters in Affghanistan might have lighted up a blaze from one end of India to another, which we should have found it difficult if not impossible to extinguish. Had Burmah been ready and the Punjab further advanced, the march of Lord Gough upon Gwalior would have been the signal for an inburst through Arracan, and across the Sutlej, and so onwards to Delhi and Calcutta. Had the Sikhs been aware that our cavalry were fleeing from the field, how many of the gallant men who stood to their arms amid heaps of dead outside the lines of Ferozeshur would have survived to speak of their escapes and their daring? And then, with Hardinge and Gough and their stout [illegible]ted, what was there to prevent a ge[illegible] of the whole Asiatic population, and [illegible]t expulsion of the English from their land? Nor are other and scarcely less alarming truths kept back from our notice. It is impossible to deny that we are indebted for the continuance

of our supremacy in the East, quite as much to the favours of fortune as to the skill of our leaders and the bravery of our troops. Was not the advance of the enemy upon Moodkee made known to us only by the falling of their round shot about our ears? Does it not appear that, in the judgment of Sir Charles Napier at least, the famous flank-movement from Loodianah, which is supposed to have averted defeat, was an operation contrary to all the laws of strategy, and perfectly impracticable except in the face of a very rude enemy? How came 30,000 Sikhs to lie idly in their encampment within a few hours' march of Ferozeshur all the time the battle was raging? And earlier still, when the Sikhs were beginning to threaten, and the whole army of Scinde had been prostrated with sickness, — when Napier himself lay exhausted at Suckur, and his disputes with the Bombay Government were at the bitterest, — what was it that stopped the hill hordes from pouring down into the plain and taking vengeance for the [illegible] Meeanee and Hyderabad? Far be it [illegible] undervalue that of which Sir William Napier is justly proud — the terror of his brother's name. We believe that it was as potent as a naturally partial historian represents it to have been; and

we know as well as he does how potent is such a spell among the tribes of central Asia. But even the terror of a name cannot altogether account for a state of rest so opportune among a people proverbially prone to indulge the passion of revenge, and singularly expert in obtaining information. No; we must unquestionably refer our deliverances, for such they were, to some influence beyond the compass of human ability. For, speak of the affair as we will, we were on fifty different occasions at the mercy of our enemies. Where were the proofs of attachment to our cause when 40,000 men were enabled to arrive within cannon shot of our outposts without one native out of all whom we professed to take under our protection coming in to tell us of their advance? Nor is this all. When the day of trial arrives, we do not find, as in former years, that every part of our army is to be trusted. The official despatches which describe recent great battles, with the lists of killed and wounded that accompany them, tell a tale as alarming as it is novel. We miss the forwardness in strife which used to characterise the Sepoys of other days, and cannot discover that they anywhere paid the penalty of their daring. The English regiments go to their work with a will; and

the face of the plain is covered with their dead; but their dark-complexioned comrades appear to fall off from them; for though their slain be comparatively few, whole battalions seem to dissolve themselves. And worse still; our Sepoys have taken to stipulate for terms when operations against an enemy are projected, and refuse to march forward unless their propositions be agreed to. Now all these are features absolutely new in Anglo-Indian history; and therefore, perhaps, as well as because of their immense importance, we cannot but give to them the chief share of our attention. How are they to be accounted for?

It appears to us that among the many subjects connected with Indian administration which must occupy ere long the attention of the Legislature, there is not one which calls for more prompt and searching inquiry than the state, as regards its discipline, organisation, and general efficiency, of Her Majesty's native army. We express ourselves thus, because, without meaning to deny that British rule has proved, upon the whole, advantageous to the agricultural population of the empire, it would be ridiculous to pretend that even they are so keenly alive to the fact as honestly and in a fervent spirit to desire the continuance of our pre-

sence among them. They may be thankful, — we dare say they are,—for the protection from external violence and plunder which is afforded to them. They cannot but contrast favourably, if they consider and contrast at all, their own condition in this respect with that of the Ryots in the best governed of the native States with which they happen to be acquainted. And in regard to the administration of law and justice, the machine, though still far from what it ought to be, is more smooth and regular in its movements than it was forty or fifty years ago. Still the utmost that can be predicated even of the Ryots, considered as subjects of the English Crown, is that they seldom, if ever, trouble themselves with discussing the merits of the system under which they live; being content to do as their fathers did before them, and satisfied so long as life and property are safe. But it is not so with any of the classes above the mere cultivators: quite otherwise. They see in the English Government a power which, however evenly it may profess to hold the scales between man and man, entertains no sympathy for them or for the traditions of their ancestry. They may acquire fortunes by trade; they may build ships and obtain the honour of knighthood; and whatever they earn by

honest industry they feel that they will be permitted to keep: but all beyond this is a blank; and they are fully alive to its dreariness. There are no such avenues to advancement opened to them as stirred the ambition and stimulated the exertions of their forefathers. They cannot attain in the civil service of the State to a station more elevated than that of an ill-paid rural magistrate, or a clerk in one of the public offices. Even the status of a practising attorney in the Courts of Law seems to be denied to them, though the decision of the judge who settled the question was manifestly delivered under a painful sense of its iniquity. And as to the army, we shall have occasion presently to explain, that it offers no prizes for which it would be worth the while of a native gentleman to strive. Now people so circumstanced cannot be loyal in any sense of the term. They may submit to their fate with more or less of resignation; either because they see no chance of escape from it, or through the influence of that fatalism which enters largely into the faith of all the religionists of the East. But it is impossible that they can nourish the slightest feeling of love for the government which thus grinds them down, far less be prepared to make sacrifices of any kind in defence of it. Nor

do they. By the native gentry of India, — and it is a great mistake to suppose that India has not its gentry of ancient lineage and proud reminiscences, — the rule of the English is regarded not only without favour, but with settled detestation. There is not one among them all but would rejoice to see it overthrown to-morrow.

Again, the complete antagonism which exists in manners, customs, and religion; the differences in their domestic habits, in their speech, in their very costume, interpose between the British rulers and their Asiatic subjects a gulf of severance, which neither time nor the degree of intimacy which here and there arises out of it, will ever be able to bridge over. We may be as ostentatiously tender as we will of Hindoo and Mahomedan prejudices; we may be ready to hear the complaints of outraged individuals, and prompt to give redress where we believe them to be well founded, but we can never hope to reconcile either the one class of persons or the other to the daily contemplation of scenes which utterly revolt them.

What Brahmin can look, except with horror, on persons who habitually slaughter and devour the flesh of the sacred cow? What Mahomedan but must regard with scorn the free intermixture of

the sexes in the social life of their Christian masters? The Hindoo, religious even to the grossest superstition; the Mussulman, devout and decorous in his very crimes, alike turn away with horror from men who live, according to their notions, without God in the world, and glory in their shame. In a word, it is idle to talk of the contentment of the *people* of British India with the particular form of government which we have established among them. They submit to it, because they cannot help themselves, — the masses with the same degree of apathy which caused their co-religionists to submit to the government of the Ameers in Scinde, and to that of the Sikh Sirdars in the Punjab. But no living soul entertains the slightest predilection for us or for our government, while all who may be crossed by it in their schemes of personal or family ambition execrate, while they endure, what they feel to be the wrong.

That we are taking no prejudiced view of this important matter, nor broaching opinions that lack authority on which to rest, a very little research on the part of our readers will enable them to ascertain. The statements adduced here have been held and promulgated by almost every man of note who

has made India and its institutions the subject of his inquiries. Open Mountstuart Elphinstone's able History, and you will find the same tone pervading every page. He speaks of the people whom we thus slight and keep down as having attained to a high degree of civilisation and prosperity before the march of Alexander across the Oxus. He describes them as retaining these advantages in the midst of endless wars, revolutions, and schemes of conquest, till we arrived upon the stage. And he attributes the circumstance to their admirable municipal institutions, which survived every change of dynasty except the last. "Dynasty upon dynasty," he says, quoting from Sir Charles Metcalfe, "tumbles down; revolution succeeds revolution — Hindoo, Pagan, Moghul, Mahratta, Sikh, English, are all [redacted]ers in turn; but the village community re[redacted]e same. This union of the village communities, each one forming a separate little state in itself, has contributed more than any other cause to the preservation of the people of India through all the changes and revolutions they have suffered; and is in a high degree conducive to their happiness, and to their enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence." Again: "The main evil of our system is, the degraded

state in which we hold the natives. We suppose them to be superstitious, ignorant, prone to falsehood, and corrupt. In our well-meaning zeal for their welfare, we shudder at the idea of committing to men so depraved any share in the administration of their own country. We exclude them from every situation of trust and emolument; we confine them to the lowest offices, with scarcely a bare subsistence; and even these are left in their hands from necessity, because Europeans are utterly incapable of filling them. We treat them as an inferior race of beings. Men, who under a native government might have held the first dignities of the State, who, but for us, might have been governors of provinces, are regarded as little better than menial servants, are often no better paid, and scarcely permitted to sit in [redacted]esence. We reduce them to this abject sta[redacted]hen look upon them with disdain, as men unworthy of high station. Under most of the Mahomedan princes of India, the Hindoos were eligible to all the civil offices of Government, and they frequently possessed a more important share in them than their conquerors."

The above passage Mr. Elphinstone quotes from a paper by the late Sir Thomas Munro. The

following sentiment is his own, and it occurs in his well-known letter to Mr. Villiers: — "Under a native government, independent of the mutual adaptation of the institutions and the people, there is a connecting chain throughout society, and a free communication between its different parts. Notwithstanding the distinctions of caste, there is no country where men rise with more ease from the lowest rank to the highest. The first nabob of Oude was a petty merchant; the first Peishwa, a village accountant; the ancestors of Holkar were goatherds; and those of Scindiah, slaves. All these and many other instances took place within the last century. Promotion from among the common people to all the ranks of civil and military employment, short of sovereignty, are of daily occurrence under native states; and this keeps up the spirit of the people, and, in that respect, partially supplies the place of popular institutions. The free intercourse of different ranks, also, keeps up a sort of circulation and diffusion of such knowledge and such sentiments as exist in society. Under us, on the contrary, the community is divided into two perfectly distinct and definite bodies, of which the one is torpid and inactive, while all the power seems concentrated in the other."

That these sentiments were put on record many years ago, and that some slight improvement has been effected since in the arrangements of our civil service, we are quite ready to admit. The continued remonstrances of such statesmen as Munro, Elphinstone, and Malcolm, could not be disregarded for ever; and in Lord William Bentinck India at last found a Governor-General able and willing to act upon the principles which they recommended. But even he soon discovered that there was a countervailing weight elsewhere, which neither his vigour nor his perseverance could overcome; and hence the reforms which he introduced scarcely went farther than to make more glaring than ever the iniquity of the system against which they were directed. It appears that throughout the provinces of Bengal, comprising a population of forty millions and upwards, there are, at this moment, but 105 natives employed under Government at salaries which do not fall short of 30*l.* a month; whereas of Europeans, salaried through all the various stages, from 600*l.* up to 10,000*l.* a year, there are in public employment, within the same limits, not fewer than 626. Was ever people so governed satisfied with their rulers? Nor is this all. While the working of our system has had the obvious ten-

dency to produce the very vices which are assumed to be the causes of it, an influence more overwhelming than either prejudice or greed has forced us to transact almost all our real business through the people whom we affect to distrust. The natives do the work on miserable wages, the Europeans draw large salaries and monopolise the credit. Hear Lord Metcalfe — too early lost to his country — on this subject: — "The difficulties of procuring effectual European superintendence, whether originating in climate, difference of habits, language, and other circumstances, are so numerous and overwhelming, that it is worth while to consider whether there is not a fair prospect of the duty being done by other means, not only cheaper, but more effectually. It it well known that in some districts almost the whole business has been done by natives, though their European employers have enjoyed the credit; and it is absurd to suppose that the former should be less able to do well when working on their own responsibility. The deplorable system under which the advantages are reaped by one, while the labour is performed by another, has been too long the bane of the country. It is the cause of the inefficiency of the European, and the corruption of the native; and, so long as

it is upheld, there can be but little amendment in either party."

The time has not yet come for dealing as fully as the case deserves with the important questions involved in these statements. The whole machinery of Anglo-Indian government is once more upon its trial*; and the evidence as yet collected, though in some respects of considerable value, is not sufficient to warrant a verdict, either of condemnation or acquittal. More, we presume, will soon follow; but, in the meanwhile, enough has been elicited to prove that matters cannot be permitted to go on exactly as they do now. Whence does it come to pass that, in direct opposition to an Act of Parliament, the Company is still able to draw so broad a line of distinction between its own covenanted servants and the rest of the Indian community? The statute which renewed the charter in 1833 contains a clause to provide that no man shall be debarred from office on account of his colour or his religion. And the ablest judges of the intentions of the Legislature have declared that every post, under the highest, — collectorships, magistracies, even seats in the Supreme Council itself, — were thereby thrown open for competition to *all* the Queen's

* This was written previously to the passing of the India Bill of 1853.

subjects in Asia, from whatever stock descended. "India," said Lord William Bentinck, fifteen years ago, "in order to become an attached dependency of the British Crown, must be governed for her own sake, and not for the sake of the 800 or 1000 individuals who go there to make their fortunes." But how stand the facts of the case? The execution of the law was left to the Court of Directors, and they ruled, in the very teeth of this enactment, that none except covenanted servants of the Company, nominated by themselves, should be competent to hold certain offices; and the consequence is, to use the words of Lord William Bentinck, in his evidence before the committee of 1837, that, "not only is the civil administration of India entirely in the hands of foreigners, but that the holders of this monopoly, the patrons of these foreign agents, are those who exercise the directing power at home; that this directing power is exclusively paid by patronage; that the value of this patronage depends exactly upon the degree in which both the honours and emoluments of the State are engrossed by their clients, to the exclusion of the natives. There exists," he continues, "in consequence, on the part of the home authorities, an interest in the administration precisely similar to what formerly prevailed as to com-

merce; that is, directly opposed to the welfare of India."

Whatever may be the conclusion to which we shall be driven by the force of evidence as yet to be adduced, in regard to the wisdom of retaining, either modified or otherwise, both a Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street, and a Board of Control in Cannon Row, no impartial man can doubt that such an exercise of power by the former of these bodies as is here described and condemned, is not more at variance with the letter of the statute law, than it is in contradiction to the principles of moral right and public justice. It may keep open, for a few more years, the avenues to wealth for a limited number of Englishmen in a distant land; but it does so in defiance of an Act of the Imperial Legislature, and at the expense of crying wrong to the native population of India. "There is one great question to which we should look," says Sir Thomas Munro, "in all our arrangements. What is to be the final result on the character of the people? Is it to be raised, or is it to be lowered? Are we to be satisfied with merely securing our power, and protecting the inhabitants, leaving them to sink gradually in character lower than at present? Or are we to endeavour to raise their character? It

ought undoubtedly to be our aim to raise the minds of the natives, and to take care that whenever our connexion with India ceases, it do not appear that the only fruit of our dominion had been to leave the people more abject and less able to govern themselves than when we found them. It would certainly be more desirable that we should be expelled from the country altogether, than that the result of our system of government should be such an abasement of a whole people. In proportion as we exclude them from the higher offices, and a share in the management of public affairs, we lessen their interest in the concerns of the community, and degrade their character. If we make a summary comparison of the advantages and disadvantages which have accrued to the natives from our government, the result, I fear, will hardly be so much in our favour as it ought to have been. They are more secure from the calamities both of foreign war and internal commotions; their persons and property are more secure from violence; they cannot be wantonly punished, or their property seized, by persons in power; and their taxation is, on the whole, lighter. But, on the other hand, they have no share in making laws for themselves, little in administering them, except in very subordinate

offices; they can rise to no high station, civil or military; they are everywhere regarded as an inferior race, and often rather as vassals or servants than as the ancient owners and masters of the country. It is not enough that we confer upon the natives the benefits of just laws and moderate taxation, unless we endeavour to raise their character; but, under a foreign government, there are so many causes which tend to depress it, that it is not easy to prevent it from sinking. It is an old observation, that he who loses his liberty, loses half his virtue. This is true of nations as well as of individuals. To have no property scarcely degrades more in one case, than in the other to have property at the disposal of a foreign government in which we have no share. The enslaved nation loses the privileges of a nation, as the slave does that of a free man. It loses the privilege of taxing itself, of making its own laws, of having any share in their administration, or in the general government of the country. British India has none of these privileges: it has not that of being ruled by a despot of its own; for, to a nation which has lost its liberty, it is still a privilege to have its countrymen, and not foreigners, as its rulers. Nations always take a part with their

government, whether free or despotic, against foreigners. Against an invasion of foreigners, the national character is always engaged, and in such a cause the people often contend as strenuously in the defence of a despotic as of a free government. It is not the arbitrary power of a national sovereign, but subjugation to a foreign one, that destroys national character, and extinguishes national spirit. When a people cease to have a national character to maintain, they lose the mainspring of whatever is laudable, both in public and in private life, and the private sinks with the public character. This is true of every nation, as well as of India. It is true of our own. Let Britain be subjugated by a foreign power to-morrow; let the people be excluded from all share in the government, from public honours, from every office of high trust and emolument, let them, in every situation, be considered as unworthy of trust, and all their knowledge, and all their literature, sacred and profane, will not save them from becoming, in another century or two, a low-minded, deceitful, and dishonest race."

These are words of wisdom, put upon record by one who, better, perhaps, than any servant of the Company, understood the subject which he was

discussing. Nor was he, while thus reasoning, blind to the well-nigh universal degradation of the people whose cause he pleaded. No one knew better than he that "the inhabitants of the Company's dominions are the most abject race in India;" no one was more keenly and bitterly aware of the causes which had produced such a result. For even the wretched satisfaction of seeing the strangers who seek their shores for the purpose of growing rich at the public expense, settle down, and become, by degrees, one with themselves, is denied them. Other conquerors had overrun their territories before, assumed supreme power, and dispensed patronage; but they did so upon the spot, and excluded no man, of whatever race descended, from a share in it. We send out our youth by shoals from England to amass wealth and exercise power for a season; each batch returning to England, when it has satisfied its own wishes, only that it may be succeeded by another. What good feeling can subsist between the millions so governed and the few whose object in undertaking the administration of local affairs is to make their fortunes and escape from the country as soon as possible?

It was the knowledge of facts like these,—it

was the natural dread of stretching too far a system of management so thoroughly rotten,—which led all our ablest Indian statesmen, from the days of Clive downwards, to deprecate the extension, under any circumstances whatever, of British empire in the East. It was the constant pressure from without,—the continual arrival of young men from England, for whom employment in the civil or military service must be found,—which forced them, one after another, into the adoption of a policy which all equally condemned. No doubt occasions arose, when, being driven to defend ourselves against foreign aggression, we could not otherwise cover the expenses of the war than by appropriating the whole or a portion of the enemy's territories. But it is too much to assume, as popular writers are in the habit of doing, that *all* our wars in India have been defensive in the first instance, or that each addition made to our territorial empire there has been made upon compulsion. There is no end to the instances in which our allies have been compelled or cajoled, in times of prosperity and peace, into ceding to us tracts of country which we should have done better, perhaps, to leave in their hands. Such was the transaction in 1800, between Lord Wellesley and the

Nizam, when the latter made over to the Company, provinces producing an annual income of 650,000*l.*, in lieu of a subsidy for troops, the cost of maintaining which was calculated at 400,000*l.* Such was the nature of his lordship's dealings, in 1801, with the Nabob of Oude, who was glad to yield up the half of his dominions, after being threatened with a seizure of the whole. So also, in 1802, the Nabob of Arcot, being *an infant*, was forced to surrender the whole of his territory, in consideration of an annual pension. And in the same year, and by a similar process, the petty principalities of Tanjore, Surat, and Furrukabad, passed under our rule; yet Lord Wellesley, though a more enterprising Governor than any that had preceded him since Hastings, was no friend, any more than his illustrious brother, to the policy of excessive aggrandisement. Nor have either our proceedings, or the theory which they controvert, undergone any material change in the progress of time. In 1831, we possessed ourselves, without scruple, of the dominions of our ally the Rajah of Mysore, and have kept them ever since. Between 1840 and 1847, we confiscated to our own use the principalities of Sattara, Coleba, and Mandavie, upon the plea that the thrones were vacant, the last incum-

bents having died without lawful heirs. And finally, in 1848, we took possession of the territories and treasures of our *infant* ally and ward, Dhuleeb Singh of Lahore, — in consequence of an insurrection which occurred in his country, while we were exercising uncontrolled authority there, and to which the child neither was, nor could be, an assenting party. These acts may have been, in themselves, politic. That they were forced upon us by circumstances over which we had no control, is a convenient, but it is by no means a self-evident theory. Indeed, the very author of the latest wrong, if wrong it shall prove to be, does not so much as pretend to shelter himself under any plea of the sort. He speaks out like a man. What to him are the declarations of Parliament, uttered long ago, and never recalled. It may still be, in the opinion of the House of Commons, as it was sixty years ago, "repugnant to the interests and honour of England" to pursue schemes of territorial aggrandisement in the East. Lord Dalhousie thinks otherwise; and not only seizes upon the Punjab, but avows his determination to extend the dominions of England, whenever and wherever a convenient opportunity of doing so shall offer. "I take this fitting opportunity," he says, "of

recording my strong and deliberate opinion, that in the exercise of a wise and sound policy, the British Government is bound not to put aside or neglect such rightful opportunities of acquiring territory or revenue, as may from time to time present themselves."

If this reasoning be sound, — and we ourselves cannot detect a flaw in it, — the reader, we think, will agree with us in the opinion, that year by year, as we become masters of a wider extent of territory in the East, we are year by year reducing the nature of our hold upon the empire to that of mere force. Wherever our authority reaches, all the established institutions of the country, all the influence of the native princes and governments, their legitimate occupations and places in society, crumble to pieces under it. We repress feuds, it is true, — we take away the power of doing arbitrary acts from individuals — we equalise taxation, and proclaim the supremacy of law, but we do not increase thereby the loyalty, far less the gratitude or the affection, of a single class, — we had almost said, of a solitary individual. "I am decidedly of opinion," says Sir John Malcolm, "that the tranquillity, not to say the security, of our vast oriental possessions is involved in the preservation of the

native principalities which are dependent upon us for protection. I am further convinced, that though our revenue may increase, the permanence of our power will be hazarded in proportion as the territories of native princes and chiefs fall under our direct rule. . . . . Every means should be used to avert what I should consider as one of the greatest calamities, in a political point of view, that could arise to our empire; viz. the whole of India becoming subject to our direct rule." "It appears to me," says Mr. Elphinstone, "to be our interest, as well as our duty, to use every means to preserve the allied governments. The period of our downfall in India will probably be hastened by every increase of our territory and subjects." "I consider the extinction of a native state," says Sir Henry Russell, "as a nail driven into our own coffin." Does any body distrust the wisdom of these vaticinations? Let him consider for a moment what follows immediately on the deposition of a native prince, in the single matter of employment for large and important sections of the community. We do not tolerate feudal rights, nor anything akin to them, within the limits of our empire. We have no desire to increase our army more than may be absolutely necessary for the occasions of

the moment. No sooner, therefore, is a cession effected, than down goes the state of scores of subordinate chieftains, down comes the royal establishment, with all its paraphernalia of wuzzeers, dewans, guards, and soldiery. What is to become of these people? We open no doors of exertion to their energies. "They cannot dig, to beg they are ashamed." They either pass into other principalities still nominally independent, carrying with them feelings of implacable rancour towards us, or they wander about the provinces, sometimes in bands, when they become robbers, or singly, when they not unfrequently perish. It was calculated, that after the overthrow of Tippoo Saib and the Mahrattas, not fewer than 500,000 persons, belonging to the military classes alone, became vagabonds and plunderers. And we need not tell such of our readers as concern themselves with the aspect of public affairs in the Punjab, that the whole face of that province is covered at this moment with men who, having no settled occupation, are ripe for any thing that may occur; more especially, for any project of hostility towards ourselves.*

* The exertions of Sir John Lawrence, and his wise and just policy, succeeded in bringing order out of chaos; and we are now congratulating ourselves on the loyalty of the Sikhs,

It is clear, then, whatever we may have accustomed ourselves to fancy, that we retain no hold upon India except by the sword. Our government is the government of the stranger, and nothing more. It is so designated by the people who submit to it; and, unless thoroughly recast, it must continue to deserve the appellation to the end of time. Indeed, we may go further. The whole bent of our legislation, even where it most professes to seek the good of the people of the country, pursues with the greatest earnestness objects which have no value whatever in their eyes. "We might read," says Mr. Sullivan, "all the Acts of Parliament which relate to India, without knowing from them that such a people exists. Take as examples the three last Charter Acts. The Act passed in 1793 provides that a proportion of the estimated surplus of the revenue shall be appropriated towards the payment of the national debt of England; and another proportion of the assumed surplus be applied to increase the dividends of the proprietors

and looking to them and the Goorkahs as our mainstay in the East. Let us take care that we do not misunderstand the motives of both races. They hate the Hindoos, and may therefore help us to destroy the rebel army. But, having done so, are we quite sure that they will be content to resume their old place in society?

of East India Stock. The Act of 1813 provides for the support of Anglican bishops and archdeacons out of the Indian revenues, and for giving additional allowances to governors and other English functionaries. The Act of 1833 adds to the number of bishops and archdeacons, and to the number of European members of Council. It provides for the appointment of a law commission, composed of Europeans, involving an additional charge in the aggregate of at least 50,000*l.* a year for European agents, and it throws all the debts and liabilities of the East India Company, including an annuity of 660,000*l.* a year, to the proprietors of that Company, on the revenue of India. The only allusion to the people of India to be found in these Acts, and that inferentially, is confined to two clauses; one of which enacts, that whenever India shall have a surplus revenue, 10,000*l.* a year shall be set apart for native collegiate establishments; the other, that no man shall be debarred from office by reason of his caste and religion." Now we do not object to the appointment of bishops and archdeacons, or the adoption of any other course which shall hold out some sure prospect of extending to the people of India, by legitimate means, the pure faith of the Gospel. Neither is

the policy of necessity wrong which provides for the appointment of a law commission, even though it be composed exclusively of Europeans. But it is surely not to "govern India for its own sake," or "to render her an attached dependency of Great Britain," that any portion of the debt of England should be saddled upon her, or her people taxed, beyond what they are able to bear, in order that the dividends of the proprietors of East India Stock may be increased. The people of India are proverbially patient under taxation, up to a certain point. But undoubtedly they would bear the burden with greater cheerfulness if they saw the funds thence arising applied, even in part, to the development of the resources of their own country; and still more if members of their own body, bone of their own bone, and flesh of their own flesh, were allowed in the spirit of the law, as it stands, to have some voice, as well in the imposition of the taxes, as in the control and general management of the revenues when collected.

The growth of our Indian empire, looking first to the period when it may be said to have taken root, and next to the enormous extent of territory and population which it now comprises, may indeed be said to constitute one of the wonders of

the world. In 1757, England, besides being mistress of a few factories on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, exercised sovereignty over 4882 square miles of territory which she had acquired from the Nabob of Bengal. In 1793, the date of Lord Cornwallis's permanent settlement, upwards of 200,000 square miles of territory, with a population little short of 40,000,000, acknowledged her supremacy. The former had grown in 1813, when the Charter was renewed, to about 320,000 square miles, the latter to 60,000,000, which again were increased, in 1833, to 462,000 square miles, peopled by at least 100,000,000 of natives. At this day, the surface extent of land, actually contributing to the Indian treasury, and managed by covenanted servants of the Company, falls little short of 600,000 square miles; while the population will be placed under rather than above the mark, if we assume that it reaches 120,000,000.

But this is not all. Between Cape Comorin and the Himalaya Mountains, and from Bombay to Arracan, there is not a principality, state, or province, but is more or less connected with the British empire by treaties admissive of the superiority of the stranger. Thus, northward of the peninsula,

and extending to the centre, we find Cashmere, Cis-Sutledge, Nepaul,—the north-east frontier states, Rajpootana, Oude, Bundelcund,—the south-west frontier states, Berar, Sangoor, Malwa and Hyderabad, with other less important principalities; to the south lie Mysore, the Orissa Jaghires, Travancore, &c., and to the west Cutch, Guzzerat, and various petty chieftainships besides. All these presenting a surface extent of upwards of 690,000 square miles, and comprising a population which has been taken at 52,000,000 of souls, are, for every practical purpose, at the absolute disposal of the British Government. Some of them are connected with it by subsidiary treaties; that is to say, they supply funds for the maintenance of a given number of troops, which the British Government disciplines and officers; others pay tribute, and undertake, in case of war, to swell our armies with contingents, of which the strength is fixed; while the residue accepting our protection hold themselves bound, when called upon, to co-operate with us in any contest into which we may enter. In a word, we have become, far more extensively than could be predicated of the most powerful Mahomedan emperors, lords paramount of India, having vassals under us, whose aggregate military

establishments show a muster-roll in round numbers, of about 400,000 armed men.*

It would be idle to lament over a contingency which, however fraught with danger, is complete, and cannot be reversed. It would be equally so to persuade ourselves that this growth in the extent of our territorial dominions indicates a corresponding growth of power, accepting the latter term in the only sense which a wise statesman would apply to it. Were the kingdoms which we have overrun and annexed inhabited by races cognate with ourselves, we might hope in the course of time, to become one with them. It is true that this is not the work of a day. The French population of Lower Canada, though for well nigh a hundred years bound by ties of allegiance to the British Crown, are still a distinct people in their habits, tastes, and creed, from their English conquerors. And in spite of the legislative union of the two provinces, we cannot say that as yet tokens of a different order of things are rife. But the national

* Since this paragraph was written, the work of annexation has made wonderful progress. State after state has been absorbed; the tenures of the holders of land closely looked into, and set aside; and a flame lighted, of the speedy extinction of which he were a bold prophet who should at this moment speak confidently.

characteristics which stand between them and us are the merest bagatelles, when compared with the insurmountable barriers that present themselves to anything like an amalgamation of Englishmen with the Hindoo and Mahomedan natives of British India. Moreover, as has elsewhere been shown, it is, and always has been, the bent and object of our policy to prevent the natives of India from acquiring an interest in the well-being of the government under which they live. What then is each enlargement of the area and population of our eastern empire, except an extension of sources of anxiety, and a serious addition made to the difficulties, already numerous enough, that stand in the way of the maintenance of our superiority? Are we richer than we were sixty years ago? Speaking comparatively, the case is otherwise. In 1792 the public debt of India amounted to no more than one year's purchase of the public revenue; whereas now it exceeds two years' purchase. Are we more at our ease as regards either foreign war or domestic trouble? Surely not. Our frontiers now touch, wherever they touch any neighbours at all, upon tribes fiercer, more warlike, and more jealous of our encroachments than any with whom we have as yet had to deal; while within ourselves, though

there may seem to be tranquillity, it is but the tranquillity of the ocean during a calm. Look back upon the events of the last eighteen years, and say whether in these you can discover any tokens either of indemnity for the past or of security against the future.

In the year 1835 the advanced frontier of British India towards the north rested upon the Sutlej, one of the branches or tributaries to the mighty Indus. Over the navigation of that great river we asserted no claim. Anxious, indeed, many of our Governors-General had been to obtain, through that channel, access to the trade of Central Asia; but none of them had aimed at more than the establishment of commercial treaties with the native chiefs, who owned the soil on each of its banks. The Sikhs, under Runjeet Singh, were undisturbed lords of the Punjab, and the Ameers governed Scinde according to their own sense of propriety; and it was considered good policy to keep them there, because they stood between us and the advance, if such an enterprise should ever be seriously contemplated, of either Russian or French troops, through Persia, upon our dominions. Moreover, India was supposed to be, and doubtless was, in an unusually flourishing condition. "The country,"

says Mr. Kaye, "was in a state of profound tranquillity — the treasury was overflowing — the quietest ruler was likely to be the best — there was abundant work to be done, but it was all of a pacific character." It was under such circumstances that the late Lord Auckland acceded to the chief management of affairs. What was the disposition of that nobleman? — what were his qualifications for so important a post? We shall quote again from Mr. Kaye, partly because his statements appear to be perfectly just — much more because they are of value, as coming from one who has not shown himself particularly sparing of censure on the general policy of the man whom he thus delineates: — "In entrusting that work to Lord Auckland, the Ministry thought that they entrusted it to safe hands. The new Governor-General had everything to learn; but he was a man of methodical habits of business, apt in the acquisition of knowledge, with no overweening confidence in himself, and no arrogant contempt of others. His ambition was all of the most laudable kind — it was an ambition to do good. When he declared at the farewell banquet given to him by the Directors of the East India Company, that he looked with exultation to the new prospects opening out before

him, affording him an opportunity of doing good to his fellow-creatures — of promoting education and knowledge — of improving the administration of justice in India — of extending the blessings of good government and happiness to millions in India' — it was felt by all who knew him that the words were uttered in grave sincerity, and expressed the genuine aspirations of the man."

It has long been the practice — and probably it will long continue — to commit the government of the Indian empire to men who, whatever may be their qualifications in other respects, cannot but carry out to their important post the most profound ignorance on every subject of which a knowledge seems to be necessary for the right discharge of its duties. Lord Auckland was not in this respect one whit less qualified than others to bear the burden which his friends in office laid upon him. And according to the measure of the ability which God had given him, he is described as bearing it well. "The early days of his government," says Mr. Kaye, "did not disappoint the expectations of those who had looked for a pains-taking, laborious administrator — zealous in the prosecution of measures calculated to develop the resources of the country and to advance the happi-

ness of the people. It appeared, indeed, that with something less of the uncompromising energy of Lord William Bentinck, but with an equal purity of benevolence, he was treading in the footsteps of his predecessor. The promotion of native education and the expansion of the industrial resources of the country, were pursuits far more congenial to his nature than the assembling of armies and the invasion of empires. He had no taste for the din and confusion of the camp — no appetite for foreign conquest. Quiet and unobtrusive in his manners, of a somewhat cold and impassive temperament, and altogether of a reserved and retiring nature, he was not one to court excitement or to desire notoriety. He would fain have passed his allotted years of office in the prosecution of those small measures of domestic reform which individually attract little attention, but in the aggregate effect mightily the happiness of the people. He belonged, indeed, to that respectable class of Governors whose merits are not sufficiently prominent to demand ample recognition by their contemporaries, but whose noiseless, unapplauded achievements entitle them to the praise of the historian and the gratitude of after ages."

Such a man assuming at such a crisis the chief

management of affairs in a country of which "the treasury was overflowing," and where "tranquillity was profound," was very little likely, in the common course of things, to plunge into wars. But what actually took place? Reports came in of ambitious movements through Persia by the Russians, in districts far beyond the utmost limits of our most distant political intercourse. A Persian army was laying siege to Herat, and Persians and Russians were expected, on the fall of that place, to march across the Hindoo Coosh, and to break through Affghanistan and the Punjab, into the fertile plains of Agra. Was this probable? and if it were, what ground of alarm could there be to us, secure, as popular authorities pronounced that we were, in the devoted attachment of our immediate subjects, and in the alliance of the states that were mixed up with them? A government which is supported by a strong and well-disciplined army, and which knows that every civilian capable of bearing arms is ready to support the regular troops if need arise, can afford to laugh at threats of danger, especially if they be uttered at a distance of many hundred miles from the frontier, with chains of inhospitable mountains between. Was this the feeling of Lord Auckland and his ad-

visers, or could it be? Quite otherwise. British India shook at once from one extremity to the other. "The remoteness of the countries," says Mr. Kaye, "in which these incidents were passing, might have reconciled an Anglo-Indian statesman to dangers of a character so vague and an origin so distant; but the result of all these distracting rumours was an after-growth of new perils springing up almost at our very doors. The native states on our own borders were beginning to evince signs of feverish unrest. From the hills of Nepaul and the jungles of Burmah came murmurings of threatened invasion, which compelled the British Government to look well to their lines of frontier. Even in our own provinces these rumours of mighty movements in the countries of the north-west disquieted the native mind; there was an uneasy, restless feeling among all classes, scarcely amounting to actual disaffection, and perhaps best to be described as a state of ignorant expectancy — a looking outwards in the belief of some coming change, the nature of which no one clearly understood. Among our Mussulman subjects, the feeling was somewhat akin to that which had unsettled their minds at the time when the rumoured advent of Zemaun Shah made them look for the speedy

restoration of Mahomedan supremacy in Hindostan. In their eyes, indeed, the movement beyond the Affghan frontier took the shape of a Mahomedan invasion, and it was believed that countless thousands of true believers were about to pour themselves over the plains of the Punjab and Hindostan, and to wrest all the country between the Indus and the sea from the hands of the infidel usurpers. The Mahomedan journals teemed, at this time, with utterances of undisguised sedition. There was a decline in the value of public securities; and it went openly from mouth to mouth, in the streets and the bazaars, that the Company's Raj was nearly at an end."

Contrast this state of feeling with the spirit which prevailed at that critical period in the history of the world, when the Turks, masters of Eastern Europe and of Central Asia, poured their swarms into the Punjab, and prepared to strike for the Mogul Empire in like manner. Then every nabob, raja, and poligar, from one extremity of India to another, mustered his troops at the emperor's bidding, and prepared to take the field. There was no backwardness on the part of the chiefs; there was every readiness among the people to be marched against the common enemy; for,

however prone each subordinate ruler might be to withhold tribute and service in time of peace, he was quite as much interested as the head of the empire in repelling a foreign invader. But where are the chiefs — where their followers — to whom, under like circumstances, we could apply? They are swept from the face of the earth; and in their room has sprung up a population either perfectly indifferent or, where the Mahomedan element prevails, eagerly desirous of change, let it come from what quarter it may. In a word, we have made ourselves masters of the largest and most populous empire in the world, — China, perhaps, excepted, — and we maintain ourselves by the weight of a large regular army, and by that alone. How is this army composed?

According to the latest returns, there are now serving in India, — of Queen's troops, officers included, 29,480; of European troops in the service of the Company, 19,928; of native troops, 240,121. This gives us a grand total of 289,529 regular soldiers; of whom 2569 are engineers, 16,440 artillery, 34,984 cavalry, 229,406 infantry, and the residue medical men, warrant officers, and veterans. To this must be added the contingents of certain native states, which, being commanded by British

officers, are available, under treaties, for British purposes. Of these the united strength appears to be 32,311 men. Thus we keep our hold upon the provinces through the respect that is paid to the swords, musketry, and cannon of upwards of three hundred thousand disciplined troops, supported by corps of irregulars, which increase or diminish according to the exigencies of the moment.

It will be seen from this abstract that, large as the Indian army is, the proportion of soldiers to the peaceful population of our Eastern empire is far below that of the most favoured of the great military Powers in Europe. In France the regular army, exclusive of troops in Algeria, amounts to about 300,000 men; the population does not exceed 37,000,000. In Prussia we have 200,000 soldiers to 15,000,000 inhabitants. Austria exhibits, inclusive of her frontier regiments, 400,000 troops, with a population of 35,000,000. Russia, with her 50,000,000 of people, supports about 600,000 soldiers. The population of British India cannot be taken at less than 120,000,000, and the army little, if at all, exceeds 300,000 men.

Again: the composition of the Anglo-Indian army presents to the eye of the philosophical inquirer one of the most extraordinary spectacles on

which it can anywhere rest. Out of the entire disciplined force which we keep on foot and trust, not quite a sixth part consists of Europeans;—all the rest are natives of India of every caste and from every province, Hindoos and Mahomedans taken indiscriminately, and governed by our articles of war. In other words, we make India enslave herself, and rivet the yoke when she has put it on; for we arm a small percentage of the population in each district when we have subdued it, and keep thereby the large majority in subjection. Now it is very obvious that such an experiment must, under the most favourable circumstances, be attended with some risk; and so keenly alive are many thoughtful men to the extent of the danger, that they can think of no other means of meeting it than by making a large addition to the European portion of the army. But this is clearly out of the question. A European soldier is too costly a machine to be multiplied in India unnecessarily; and the remoteness of the sources whence the Indian Government must fetch him, renders a supply of the material in the time of need both tedious and uncertain. The experiment may be perilous therefore, but it is unavoidable, unless we be prepared to withdraw from the country altogether;

and it becomes much more than perilous if we fail to connect the native soldier with ourselves by the strong tie of personal interest. Is it quite certain that we have succeeded in so attaching him? That he loved our service and was proud of our uniform sixty years ago, no reader of history can doubt. For him there was no loyalty except to the Government which paid him his wages, and treated him in other respects well. We did both, and he was ready to fight for us against his own father; but can we assert the same thing of him now, and to the same extent? Why then do we hear of whole regiments turning their backs in the day of battle? How is it that mutinies — events never known till the present century came in — are now so frequent? And in what sense shall we read the general orders of a late commander-in-chief, which seem to describe the army of Bengal, at least, as in a state of almost total disorganisation? These are very alarming signs of the times, to say the least of them; for if the native army be indeed disaffected, nay more, if the *esprit de corps* in any of its portions be destroyed or seriously weakened, it is not too much to say, that unless a remedy be applied, the days of our Indian Empire are numbered. Does anybody imagine that it is by the 50,000

English soldiers now in India that we retain military occupation of the country? By no means. Were the native regiments merely to disband themselves and return to their homes, our hold upon the country would not continue three months. And this once lost, not all the available resources of England, were they turned exclusively to that one object, would suffice to recover it. Let us see then what the changes may be which are supposed to have operated not without ill effect upon the *morale* of the Indian army, and then we shall be better able to suggest a remedy, if, indeed, a remedy be needed.

We learn from Orme, the faithful though diffuse chronicler of our early wars in India, that in 1746, at the siege of Cuddalore, the French brought into the field, for the first time, a body of native troops armed and drilled after the manner of Europeans. The English felt the weight of this battalion, and resolved to raise one in like manner, which they did towards the close of the same year. And so important were the services rendered by the Sepoy corps in the military operations which terminated in the capture of Madras, that others speedily followed. These, led on by Clive and his contemporaries, proved themselves equal to every

emergency. The defence of Arcot, the action at Volconda, with other affairs too numerous to mention, established for them a character such as left their commanders nothing to desire, and placed an inexhaustible depôt for recruiting at the disposal of the Company. Nor was the example thus set at Madras slow in being followed elsewhere. After the recovery of Calcutta, Sepoy battalions were embodied both in Bengal and Bombay, and side by side with their Madras and European comrades they won the battle of Plassey, and laid the foundations of that power which is now paramount in India.

The constitution of the native army at the period of which we now write was very different from that which it has since assumed. It consisted then exclusively of infantry, who, though drilled after the European fashion, worked both in peace and war under chiefs connected with the men by ties of consanguinity and clientship. Occasionally, indeed, though not always, there was attached to a battalion a European officer, well versed in the native language, and capable of appreciating the native character. But his duties were rather those of a commissioner or field-deputy than of a commandant; he explained to the native chief the orders

of the general, but took no part at all in the arrangements necessary for carrying them into effect. The services performed by Sepoy battalions so managed have been described in the official records of the day as most effective; and the names of Mahommed Yusuf, Jemal Sahib, and others, fill a page in history scarcely less memorable than that which sets forth the exploits of our own Ford, Calliaud, and Coote.

The first marked change in the organisation of the native army occurred in the year 1766, when all the battalions were raised to a uniform strength of a thousand men apiece, and had permanently attached to each of them one European captain, with two European lieutenants.

The duties of these gentlemen, however, scarcely, if at all, interfered with those of the native officers. The captain became to his battalion what the brigadier used to be to his brigade; he gave orders, through his European adjutants in the field and in quarters, which the native commandant carried into effect. But with respect to the internal economy of the battalion, that was still conducted under the native commandant, by one subadar, or native captain, with three jemadars, or native lieutenants, in each company. Hence, though Eu-

ropean superintendence might be more widely diffused, it was nowhere exercised so as to lower the position or wound the feelings of the native officers. They still felt that their rank in society was an elevated one, and were still regarded by the non-commissioned officers and men as their natural superiors. It was about this time, or rather two years subsequently, that a corps of cavalry, divided into troops, was first raised at Madras. It consisted of horsemen who had originally served in the army of the Nabob of Arcot, and amounted in 1780, when the war with Hyder Ali broke out, to 2000 sabres. "Sir John Malcolm" (we quote from "A Letter to the Marquess of Tweeddale, by Lieutenant-General Briggs") "has passed a very high and merited eulogium on this excellent body of troops, and has given examples of the distinguished character of many of the native officers, all of whom had entered the service of the Nabob, and were in it when the corps was transferred to the Company. The native officers were gentlemen of family and education, and realised the expectation which might be formed of persons of that class. It is at this period the late Sir John Malcolm seems to think that the native army of Madras had attained its highest state of efficiency. The chivalrous

conduct of its native officers, the attachment of the men to their leaders, their patience under fatigue and hunger, their devotion to their European officers, and their fidelity to the state when imprisoned and cruelly treated by the ruler of Mysore, — all tend to throw a lustre over the character of these faithful soldiers." Nor was the case different in the other presidencies. Bombay in 1780 brought fifteen battalions into the field, raised, organised, and officered like those at Madras, while Bengal advanced from nineteen to twenty-one, adding them to the six troops of native cavalry, six battalions of European infantry, and six companies of European artillery, which she had previously embodied.

It is worthy of remark, that so long as the native armies retained this constitution the battalions got their officers from the native gentry of the provinces, all of whom entered the service as privates, though they rarely continued in that grade more than two or three years at the most. These brought with them their retainers, — every man born and reared on their own lands, — and not unfrequently filled their ranks with Pariars and persons of the lowest caste. Nor did the slightest inconvenience arise from this. Off duty, the

Brahmin or Rajpoot could not come into contact with the Sudra, far less touch the Pariar or eat of food which he had dressed; on duty, they rubbed shoulders freely, and were honestly attached to one another. In fact, to use the words of General Briggs, the native army "consisted then of two classes, of which all armies to be effective must be and have been composed, — one class derived from the better order of society, accustomed to command the services of domestics and underlings; and the other class drawn from the lowest grades, who are from infancy habituated to obedience, and taught to respect the upper class on whom they are dependent." Meanwhile all young gentlemen sent out as cadets from England joined the European regiments. With these they served till, by the acquisition of the native languages, and by other marks of general intelligence, they attracted the notice of the Government, when one by one they were drafted off into native corps, none being permitted to join a Sepoy battalion until there was good reason to believe that he had qualified himself for the new class of duties thence arising.

It was about 1784 that this wise practice began to be broken in upon. Heretofore promotion went on through the whole line; now it was thought

necessary, by way of putting the King's and the Company's services more upon a footing of equality, that promotion up to a certain point should be regimental. In 1781 the rank of major had been introduced, and battalions were divided so as to form two respectively. Hence while each continued to have a captain at its head, the whole, under the designation of a regiment, fell to the charge of a major. But this half measure was not found to answer, and in 1783 it was abandoned. There came in, moreover, an innovation whereby to each company a European subaltern was allotted in command; a serious matter even when guarded by all the checks of which it was susceptible. For though the subalterns thus disposed of were carefully selected, and the feelings of the subadars spared as much as possible, the native gentleman could no longer disguise from himself or from his men that his shadow was growing less. He supported himself, however, tolerably well till the tide which had begun to set in against him acquired greater force. In 1790, and again in 1796, the European element became still stronger, and then, and not till then, the spirit of the native sank within him. Sir John Malcolm in his "Political History of India," speaking of the native army

during the war with Tippoo from 1790 to 1793, says, "Though improved in discipline, it had become in some degree a secondary one, and the pride of those who composed it was lowered." Worse effects followed upon the changes which ensued in 1796. Then "the whole form of the army was changed. Instead of a single battalion commanded by a captain who was selected from the Company's European regiments, and a subaltern to each company, regiments were formed of two battalions, to which officers were appointed of the same rank and nearly of the same number, as to one battalion in the service of His Majesty."

Many and great evils followed this change, not the least telling of which lay here: that it was no longer possible to *select* European officers for Sepoy commands; but that as vacancies occurred, raw lads fresh from England, with all their inexperience and inborn prejudices in full flower, were brought forward to supply them. Such boys could hardly avoid coming into constant and painful collision with the native officers, whom they affected to look down upon because their complexions were dark, and did not understand, because they were ignorant of every language spoken among men except their own. But, de-

fective as it was, the duplex arrangement had so far the advantage over that which now prevails, that it was competent to the authorities to select from *both* battalions, for the battalion about to be employed in war, the European officers who were known to be best acquainted with the native character and habits. And such selections—imperfect of course when compared with those which they superseded—were continually made. But in 1824 battalions were again reunited, without any increase to the numbers of European officers, nor any distinction drawn between the wants of the several arms of the service. Hence a regiment of infantry, with its ten companies, retained its colonel, lieutenant-colonel, major, five captains, eight lieutenants, and five ensigns. A regiment of cavalry, with its six troops, was equally well supplied; and a battalion of artillery, which consists of only four companies, did not fall short in its complement. It too showed a muster-roll of one colonel, one lieutenant-colonel, one major, five captains, eight lieutenants, and five ensigns, all being Englishmen by birth.

The effect produced by these changes upon the native officers, and ultimately upon the service at large, has been deplorable. The former losing all

influence and authority in their corps, soon began to degenerate; indeed, the race may be said to have changed its nature altogether. Formerly you had the *élite* of the native gentry in your ranks; now no native gentleman ever thinks of putting on the uniform of the regular army. It would be marvellous if he did; for length of service furnishes, and has long furnished, the only claim for advancement to a commission; and it takes a soldier from twenty to thirty years to earn his subadar's epaulets. Formerly every native officer was an educated gentleman. He could keep his company's accounts, write out orders and despatches, and not unfrequently acted as interpreter, where his European comrades would have been otherwise at fault. All this is changed now. The soldiers of India are the most unlettered men in the country, and the officers, taken from the same class, do not, in this respect, go ahead of the privates.

"In the year 1831," says General Briggs, "the Commander-in-Chief of Madras was induced to call for a return of the education in the native army; and the following result of that inquiry shows how much it is neglected, and from how low an origin the native army is derived — a conclusion, however, which should not excite our astonishment, when we reflect on the small pay which the Sepoy receives. Education is very general among the people of India; all those forming the middle

classes are early instructed to read and write; and few even of the personal domestics of Europeans are so uninstructed as not to be able to keep an account.

"An abstract of the return exhibits the following state of the educated:—

Cavalry and Horse Artillery	726 can read at all	out of	4,966
Foot Artillery and Infantry	7,226 „	„	39,988
Sepoy Recruit Establishment	280 „	„	4,321."

"The original return exhibits two very remarkable circumstances which merit notice. These are, first, that in one regiment of cavalry, and in the horse brigade of the artillery, there is not a single native officer or havildar-major (serjeant-major) who can read; and the same occurs in the case of all the subadars of two other regiments of cavalry; so that out of eight regiments of cavalry and two of horse artillery, there are four corps in which no subadar, or native captain, can read. The second, is the very small portion of the Sepoy recruits that can read, and for whose education regimental schools exist. These admirable institutions consist of thirty sons of deceased Sepoys above seven, and forty above twelve years of age, in each regiment, who receive half-pay, and are trained till of an age to enter the army."

General Briggs speaks here of the Madras army as it was in 1831, with which a service of forty years made him thoroughly acquainted. We beg to assure him that his estimate, *mutatis mutandis*, will serve quite as well for the armies of Bengal and Bombay, and for the Madras army in 1852. We doubt, indeed, whether in the former force at least, the standard be not even lower than he has put it,

though the following facts convey but a melancholy impression of the *morale* not less than of the intellectual state of the service to which he belongs:—

"From a review of the native courts-martial I find that between the years 1800 and 1830, there were 331 native officers of the Madras army brought to trial on the following charges:—

Drunkenness on duty	137
Insubordination	29
Mutiny and sedition, with the intention of murdering the officers	46
Robbery, usury, peculation	26
Perjury and subornation of evidence	5
Absent without leave	3
Robbery, burglary, theft	16
Assaults and frays	12"

Considering that this estimate covers a space of thirty years, we should not be startled by the conclusion to which it leads, were we dealing with the non-commissioned officers and privates of any army in the world. One per cent. of criminals is not a large average, but the reverse, in a general armed force. Nor are the crimes here specified different from those which we might expect to find brought home to the individuals composing it. But when one per cent. in a body of officers is proved to have committed atrocities like these, we naturally ask ourselves, can they be taken from the class in society whom previous habits have qualified for

situations of trust? "In considering this part of the subject," continues the General, "we can arrive but at one conclusion; namely, that the race of native officers who so distinguished themselves under Clive and Lawrence, under Coote and Cornwallis, under Harris and Wellington, no longer remain in our regular army."

We perfectly agree with the General. The native veterans on whom the blow first fell struggled, as they best could, against outraged self-respect. It was very bitter for them to find, that even the practice of selection ceased to be observed; and that, covered it might be with honourable wounds, they were subjected to the caprices of striplings from England, many of whom had not been born when they entered the service. They endured the wrong as became them; but they took care, instead of inviting their sons, or younger brothers, or nephews, to enlist, to warn them against it. Hence the native officers, at all the Presidencies, as compared with their predecessors, have dwindled into a low and degenerate race, in no degree superior, as respects intellect, conduct, or education, to the havildars or serjeants, from among whom they are taken. And to add to the catalogue of their faults, they are in nine cases out of

ten inefficient through age; and incapable, were they ever so much disposed, to support the position of gentlemen, through poverty. The pay of a Sepoy is, we believe, fivepence halfpenny a day, out of which he is obliged to find his linen and the materials for keeping his arms and accoutrements in order. It takes him, on an average, from five to seven years to become a naeg or corporal, about ten more to reach the grade of havildar or serjeant, and twenty, or it may be thirty, in all, to earn his first commission, when his pay is raised to one shilling and fourpence a day. In his turn he becomes a subadar or captain, with pay at the rate of half a crown per diem; and, finally, if he live, and his constitution does not fail altogether, he may become subadar major, with five shillings a day. The average age of the native subalterns in the Company's service has been taken, we believe, at forty-five, of the captains at fifty-five, and of the majors at sixty-five, or from that to seventy.

A consideration of these facts leads to one of two conclusions; first, that if the Indian Government did well in throwing so large a portion of the European element into their Sepoy regiments, they erred in not making that element larger; next, that if it was right to deprive the native officer of

all real authority and patronage, it was wrong to continue the class of native commissioned officers at all. As the case now stands, the whole of these persons, from the subadar major down to the junior jemadar, are positively in the way. The most exalted of them all — the black-faced major — cannot take command of the battalion as long as there is a white-faced ensign or serjeant-major, or, we suspect, a white-faced serjeant on the ground. And as to his influence in quarters, nobody, we presume, would pretend to say that it is greater than that of a havildar, or a naeg. Hence the inability of these people to repress the mutinous spirit which has too often shown itself of late in our Sepoy regiments; and of which, previously to the reorganisation of the army in 1796, there is not one instance upon record. Hence, too, the comparative good or bad behaviour of Sepoy corps, in the enemy's presence, according as they are led into the field by an adequate or inadequate number of European officers. Observe that we do not charge the native officers, as a body, with promoting a spirit of insubordination or with setting an example of misconduct in battle. The Hindoo portion of them, at least, have never, we believe, been known to join in a mutiny; of the Mahomedans we cannot

say as much.* And in regard to courage, or its opposite, both classes stand pretty much upon a level with the non-commissioned officers—certainly not a hair's breadth above them. But in the present case it does not appear, either that their authority is of weight enough to extinguish a flame, or that in any recent instance they have been able to give the European commandant notice of the mischief that was brewing. The only fair inference to be drawn, therefore, is, that the commissioned rank just raises them to a sufficient height above their former comrades to deprive them of the hail-fellow-well-met confidence which private soldiers repose in one another, without creating for them in the class from which they have been taken the deference which leads a tenant to make a confidant of his landlord, or a poor man to seek advice, when in difficulties, from a gentleman whom he knows and respects.

It was a great mistake, when we took to officering our Sepoy battalions and companies with Europeans, to retain any native as a commissioned officer at all. His nominal position is an insult to

* Recent events show, that, among the Hindoo as well as the Mahomedan portion of the army, the feeling of loyalty had died out.

him. It brings with it neither power nor pecuniary gain; it has ceased to be an object of ambition to the class of persons whose services could be of any value; and forasmuch as the rules of the profession render the prize, such as it is, unattainable, except in the decline of life, it is no sooner won than the fortunate individual takes steps to retire upon a pension. Nor is this all. Except for the mockery of the native commission, Government would admit the necessity of giving to the Indian army an adequate strength of officers; which, under existing circumstances, it certainly has not. Will anybody pretend to say that an English battalion, eight hundred strong, has, upon our present peace establishment, too many officers attached to it? And if eight hundred Englishmen, speaking the same language with their officers, and standing towards them in the relation which General Briggs has so well described, cannot be made effective, as a regiment, with fewer than thirty-three battalion officers, exclusive of the staff, how can it be supposed that eight hundred Sepoys, a mixed mass of Hindoos and Mahomedans, speaking different languages, trained up to different habits, and altogether aliens, in customs and in thought, on every important subject, are to be rightly

managed by twenty-two officers? But are there really twenty-two battalion officers present with any native regiment in India? By no means. Such is the demand for European service on the general staff of the army, and so trying the effect of an Indian climate on European constitutions, that not only is this not the case, even in a solitary instance, but that, in a vast variety of instances, less than one half of the regimental officers in the Company's service ever do duty with their corps. Nor is it to be forgotten that even as regards regimental duty, no provision is made in the Company's service for staff employment. The adjutant, the quartermaster, and the paymaster, are all selected from among the battalion officers, thus leaving available for company duty, supposing all to be present, barely fifteen. Even fifteen, however, is far above the mark. We have not at hand the latest official returns explanatory of the strength and distribution of European officers belonging to the armies of India; but an article in an early number of the "Calcutta Review" sets forth the details of the service as they stood in 1844: and as nothing has occurred since to alter the principle on which the army works, we do not see why we should refuse to make use of our contemporary's

tables here. It appears, then, that nine years ago, the Company's regular native army, — cavalry, infantry, and artillery, — consisted of 212,500 men; that to these were nominally attached 4481 officers; that the general staff and the command of irregular corps, absorbed not fewer than 2229; leaving exactly 2253 officers to take charge, in field and in quarters, of 212,000 men. This will give an average of something less than 1 officer to every 93 men; a proportion which all who are conversant with the subject will pronounce to be wholly inadequate, and which, as we learn, drew from Marshal Soult, when he was here, on the occasion of Her Majesty's coronation, expressions of astonishment that discipline could be preserved in the Indian army at all.*

Again: inadequate as this complement is, the experience of the last eight years has shown that the progress of war, even for a few months, renders it far more so. We have heard of regiments, both in Affghanistan and the Punjab, going into

* Since this paper was printed, a nominal addition has been made to the number of European officers in each Indian regiment. We believe, however, that this increased strength exists, as yet, only on paper. A certain number of subalterns have obtained captaincies; but there is still a blank in the lower grades, which new appointments fail to fill up.

action without being able to show so much as one European officer at the head of each company. We believe that there were occasions when three or four Europeans at the most took their places in the line. Can we expect, looking to the class of natives now dignified with the title of commissioned officers, that regiments composed like those of our Indian army, and so commanded, should behave otherwise than ill? We should not like to see the best regiment under the Crown led into action without having at least one officer per company to show the way. And yet there is affectation of surprise and regret when a Sepoy battalion, under the command of a lieutenant, becomes unmanageable and insubordinate.

Again: there has sprung up, within the last twenty or thirty years, particularly in Bengal, a notion that men of high caste make better soldiers than men of low caste; and that it will not do to parade together persons who in common life cannot hold familiar intercourse with one another. More or less the same prejudice prevails elsewhere; but we believe it to be as mistaken as it is mischievous. The high-caste man is the slave of a thousand scruples, which do not affect the mind of the low-caste man. He cannot eat this, and he will not

drink that; to pass the sea in ships is contrary to his religion, and as to working in the trenches, it was shown, at the siege of Mooltan, that to so deep a degradation he never will submit. The Pariar is oppressed with no such weaknesses. He will go wherever he is ordered, and do whatever he is desired; and, under fire, exhibits as much coolness and courage as the proudest Rajpoot of them all. And in the older and, we must be permitted to say, the better times of the native army, a very large proportion of its regiments belonged to this order.

"The Sepoys," says General Briggs, "who fought the battles of Clive and Coote, who contributed to the humiliation of Tippoo in 1792 and to his downfall in 1799, and who gained laurels under the Duke of Wellington in the campaign of 1803–4, were, like the Bombay army, of a mixed class. The infantry was composed of Pariars, Pullers, and other low cultivators of the Carnatic, and of the Northern Circars, with some few Mahomedans. The cavalry were wholly Mahomedan. In the year 1806, the epoch of the Vellore Mutiny, Government, on what ground does not appear, forbade any recruit to be enlisted for the Madras army of the low-caste tribes, and advantage was taken of that order to discharge all those for which such excuse could be found. An old Raj-put Subadar, whose company I commanded for some years, and for whom I entertained great esteem, considered the measure highly impolitic. 'These men,' he said, 'have ever been faithful, obedient, and brave; and the day will come when you will confess how much higher qualities they possess, as good soldiers, than the Mahomedans, whom it is now the fashion to bring forward.'"

The day predicted by General Briggs's friend has come. Of all the troops in the Company's service, there are none so little to be depended upon as the regular cavalry, and it is composed exclusively of Mahomedans. The best regiments in the service are the Madras Pioneers, recently converted into Sappers and Miners, the Bombay Native Infantry, and the Goorkas. They are all recruited mainly from among low-caste tribes, and, when properly led, will go any where and do any thing.*

Again: we have too much got into the practice of raising an army suddenly when war occurs, or appears to threaten, and as suddenly reducing it when the danger blows over. It is a most unwise proceeding; for he takes but a short-sighted view of the moral uses of the native army who supposes that it operates solely upon the fears of the people of British India to keep them in subjection. Of the 250,000 men composing our Sepoy force, there are probably not 10,000 unmarried. Most of them have families; and all these, as well as the followers of our camps, and hangers-on about canton-

* We have seen with inexpressible regret, and some surprise, that even the army of Bombay is not free from taint. Can this be owing to any ill-judged endeavour to exclude low-caste men from the ranks?

ments, are interested in the welfare of the government on which they depend for subsistence. Indeed, it is from these persons, scattered over the whole surface of the empire, that our Government receives all its information of plots and conspiracies as soon as they are formed; they act as a sort of detective police, and may at all times be depended upon. But if, in the prosecution of a short-sighted economy, we take to enlisting men, and by and by discharging them without pensions or other provision against want, we shall not only lose the support of them and of their relatives, but we shall convert every one of them into a conspirator. Let the reader call to mind how fatally the absence of such motives of attachment on the part of the people of Affghanistan told against us. A whole nation conspired for the destruction of the force which had conquered it. Yet the leaders of the force knew nothing of the matter till the blow fell. The Government of India will act judiciously if it avoid giving an opportunity, by a too frequent discharge of its native soldiers unpensioned, for the formation of similar plots against its continuance in districts nearer home.*

* This warning, disregarded at the moment, comes now too late.

We have not half exhausted this part of our subject, to deal fairly by which would, indeed, require more than double the space now at our disposal; and there are various points besides, more or less connected with it, on which we cannot pretend to touch at all. There is the commissariat of India, for example, which, especially as it affects the means of transport for our armies, appears to us to be as defective as anything can well be. There is also the armament of our native troops, their clothing, and their equipment, especially of the horse. See how unsuited it is, as well to the physical strength of the men as to the nature of the climate. What is it which renders the regular cavalry of British India in so marked a degree inefficient? Because you mount the trooper on an English saddle, impede his movements with your tight-fitting English uniform, and put into his hands a sabre so heavy that he is unable properly to wield it. And look at your Sepoy or infantryman, — buttoned up to the throat in a woollen jacket of brick-dust hue, and expected to make play with a musket, fabricated in Birmingham, after the model of such weapons as a stalwart grenadier of the 87th Irish Fusileers is just able to manage. All these things require looking into; and we

strongly advise when the Committee on Indian affairs come to this part of their subject, that they fail not to examine Sir Charles Napier, having first of all carefully read and digested his pamphlet on the "Baggage of an Indian Army."* But we are constrained, for the present, to pass them by; for it will never do to bring forward a bill of indictment against either an individual or an institution without making, at least, some suggestions for the amelioration of the evils complained of; and even these—not being forgetful that of all subjects that of Indian administration is, to the majority of Englishmen, the most distasteful—we must endeavour to make as brief as shall be consistent with perspicuity.

The points which we have established against the military administration of British India seem to be three:—

First. That the comparative inefficiency of the native army of India is attributable mainly to the want of an adequate corps of officers, who shall command and obtain the confidence of their men.

* The Committee has long closed its labours, and the gallant Napier passed from the stage. It took no thought of him while his wisdom was present to advise, and the country is reaping the fruit of its negligence.

Second. That the general condition of the native commissioned officers, their false position in the corps, and the low state of their education, render them all but useless, if not positively inconvenient to the service.

Third. That if we desire to retain India, upon which our only real hold is through the native army, steps must be taken without delay to correct those evils.

As to the other subjects, glanced at rather than discussed, — such as the wisdom of recruiting from classes different from those in which we now seek our soldiers, the providing a better-organised baggage-train and general commissariat, — these involve questions which, though not without their importance, may safely be left to answer themselves. It will be enough for our present purpose if we deal with points more salient.

It appears to us then, that there are two courses open to the Indian Government, by following either of which the armed force of the country may be placed on such a footing as shall render it at all times trustworthy in quarters, and perfectly efficient in the day of battle. Either they may go back to the state of things which prevailed prior to the regulation of 1796, or they must raise the strength

of their European regimental officers to the same level with that of the Queen's service. In point of economy the former course holds out many and very obvious advantages, for it is the pay of the European officers, regimental as well as staff, which renders the maintenance of the native army so costly: and though Government must be prepared, if it expect native gentlemen to serve in the ranks, to remunerate them on a scale considerably above that which has been fixed for the present race of subadars and jemadars, still the total outlay on their account would be more than met by the diminution of expense which would attend the reduction of European officers. But before this course be either recommended or adopted, one or two grave questions must be answered. In the first place, are there left, within the Company's provinces, native gentlemen of sufficient standing and education to undertake so important a charge; and in the next place, assuming that such persons exist, should we be justified, looking to the altered state of the empire, in trusting them? Our own honest belief is, that such persons are still to be found; and we see no reason to assume that they might not be trusted. Look at the irregular corps. They are by far the most efficient, whether as horse

or foot, in the native army. Yet they have seldom more than two, and sometimes only one, European officer attached to each.* And as to courage, there never was a greater libel upon human nature, than that which assumes that the people of India are naturally cowards. They were no cowards who met us at Assaye, at Dieg, at Mehedpoor, Sitabaldy, Maharajpoor, the battles of the Sutlej, and at Chillianwallah. We defeated them on each occasion, no doubt, because of our superior discipline; but it was at a sacrifice of life quite as great, in proportion to the numbers engaged, as occurred at any of the fiercest European battles during the late war. Compare the slaughter which occurred at every one of them, with the loss sustained by the victors at Waterloo, and it will be found to stand thus:—At Waterloo, the Duke lost in the proportion of 1 to 6. The Indian returns show the following ratios:—

	British Loss.
1803. Assaye - - - -	1 to 3
1804. Dieg - - - -	1 to 4½
1817. Mehedpoor - - - -	1 to 6

* Events compel us to modify this praise. The spirit of disaffection has been as strong in the irregular as in the regular cavalry of Bengal; a sure proof that we must look quite as much to our arrangements in civil as in military life for the cause of it.

	British Loss.
1817. Sitabaldy - - - -	1 to 4½
1818. Korygaum - - - -	1 to 3½
1845. Maharajpoor - - - -	1 to 6
1846. Battles of the Sutlej - -	1 to 5
1848. Chillianwallah - - -	1 to 7

Here is no proof of cowardice on the part of the defeated, whose loss, in every affair, except perhaps the last, greatly exceeded our own. Why should we assume that because they serve the Queen of England, Indian gentlemen will not lead, and Indian soldiers follow, as gallantly as when both are in arms against her. Are not the exploits of Skinner's Horse fresh in the memory of every reader of history? Have the terms in which Sir Harry Smith spoke of the Sermore and Goorkah battalions been forgotten? And did not Sir Charles Napier convert the robber population of Upper Scinde into as effective a corps of irregulars as ever took the field? We cannot say that either the style or the matter of Sir William Napier's "Administration of Scinde" greatly delights us. The accomplished author has contrived to disfigure a not uninstructive narrative by a more than ordinary indulgence in the luxury of vituperation and hard names. Yet he has done no more than justice to his brother in the following passage, which we quote as

strongly confirming the opinions expressed throughout this paper:—

"While the regeneration of the poorer classes was thus urged forward, the just claims of the high-born people of the land were not overlooked. Though a conquered race, Sir Charles Napier regarded them only as English subjects; and resolved to open for them all places of trust and dignity, without objection to colour or religion, demanding only qualification. Mohamed Tora, one of the greatest serdars who fought at Meanee, was made a magistrate, at his own request, the appointment being justified thus:—'The nobles of Scinde must have the road of ambition opened to them, or they will not have their rights, in the honourable sense of my proclamation; that is, if they qualify themselves for the offices demanded. But in questions of general interest like this, even qualifications should not be required before enjoyment,—we must give first, we must turn out afterwards for incapacity. The class-right will be thus acknowledged, while the man is removed; and if one Beloochee gentleman becomes a magistrate, many will qualify themselves. I want to go beyond this, if the Indian system will allow me; but that system,—a rotten fabric of expedients for the supporting of robbery,—is equally destitute of humanity and knowledge of human nature, and will, I suppose, certainly debar the Scindian gentleman of the rights possessed by Englishmen. I will, however, give them all I can. The Beloochee gentlemen may likely enough abuse this power for ten years to come; but we who have conquered the country can surely keep half a dozen such persons in order; and the great men of the land must have a door open for their ambition, their virtues, and their industry, or they will become rebellious or vile; I know not which is worst; but the government which produces either is a detestable tyranny.'"

There is sound philosophy in this, albeit the sen-

timent be strongly worded; and it is in the spirit of the same philosophy that we certainly should not object to the attempt, judiciously made, to introduce to public employment, both military and civil, Indian gentlemen, wherever they might show themselves qualified. Why should we hesitate to place more Mahomed Yusufs or Bhavany Sings at the head of our battalions, if we can find them,—subject, of course, to the general control of European officers, carefully selected? Are they more likely to betray their trust than the chiefs whom we employ with our irregular corps; or gentlemen like Mohun Lal, who in the civil department of the army proved himself so useful and so trustworthy in Affghanistan? General Briggs, at least, and the late General Caulfield seem to apprehend no danger; indeed, the former goes somewhat further than in the present stage of the business we feel quite disposed to go with him; for he sketches his plan in detail, and recommends it for adoption. But in the summing up of his argument we acquiesce heartily. "In such case young men of family might be received into the army as volunteers, with an understanding that according to their merits and standing they should succeed to commissions. No volunteer should be eligible to

his commission before he had served at least two years as a private, one as a corporal or naeg, and one as a sergeant-major or havildar-major of his company."

It is not our business to go into the details of a plan, of the principle of which alone we are ready to express our approval. Should the Indian Government judge it expedient to revert in whole or in part to the military organisation of 1780, ways and means of doing so, without inflicting wrong upon any one, can easily be found. Should the prejudice against placing natives in offices of trust prevail to bar the door to their advancement in the army, there is no alternative left except largely to increase the number of European officers. For apart from the evils that everywhere follow the attempt to preserve discipline in armed bodies with inadequate means, there is this special drawback to the Indian system, that none except the least intelligent officers in the service remain with their regiments. Indeed, employment on the staff, or in the civil administration of the country, becomes an object of ambition to every well-disposed cadet from the hour of his landing in the country; and he seldom fails, with ordinary diligence and talent, to qualify himself after a few years and to win the

prize. Meanwhile the idle, the stupid, the dissolute, and the ignorant remain with their colours; and even of these the numbers become, through casualties of various kinds, often so small, that the regiment cannot show, upon a peaceful parade, one European officer per company. This is a state of things which must at any cost be put a stop to; and every day, while it diffuses the native army over a wider space of territory, renders the application of some remedy to so fatal an error more urgent.

The expense of rightly supplying the army of India with European officers will be in the end very great. There is no disputing that fact. And another measure, not wholly free from risk, must keep pace with it, namely, the abolition of the class of commissioned native officers; but this latter step need not, any more than the former, be taken precipitately; and a slight degree of caution will suffice, in our opinion, to rob it of all its terrors. For the position of a jemadar or subadar is not coveted by any natives of India above the humblest in point of birth and station; and even these seek it much more on account of the pension which it secures, than because it opens a door of advancement for them in the world. The discharged sub-

adar, when he goes back to his village, relapses into the social place from which by enlistment he had escaped. He sits down in his unfurnished hut, a ryot, — better to do in the world than some of his neighbours, but still only a ryot. The havildar, who on the retirement of the subadar, expected to succeed to the epaulettes, will be quite satisfied if you give him in the meanwhile the pay, and assure him of a jemadar's pension by and by. Thus in time, and after no very great lapse of time, the race will die out. Nor need you push on your increase of Europeans one whit more rapidly than space shall by these means be found for them. We will engage to say that such a measure as this would give offence to no class of our Indian subjects. It might and probably would establish the custom of recruiting from low-caste tribes exclusively; for the low-caste man, as he does not in civil life indulge in ambitious longings, so he enlists for the sake of the pay, and with little or no view to promotion. And he is, for this as well as for other reasons, better suited than the high-caste man to serve in such an army as ours. But it would attract no attention whatever in circles which would be likely to make a bad use of their knowledge, for against them the military service of

their rulers is already barred. The measure therefore would be at least safe, though we confess that it could not be made economical or generous.

Again: care must be taken under such a change of circumstances to attach officers permanently to the corps which they first enter. The native soldier is susceptible of strong attachment to his officer, provided the latter understand him, and deal liberally with his prejudices. But the native soldier, under the present order of things, has no time to become acquainted with any except the refuse of his European officers. All the rest are taken away from him for service on the staff, or to fill civil offices which would be far more effectively filled by the native gentry of the district. This state of things must be altered. The Indian officer must learn to look again, as he looked fifty years ago, to his regiment as his home; and he will then think it worth his while to become personally acquainted with the characters of his men, and to conciliate their good will by fair dealing. Meanwhile such a corps as that of the État-Major in the French service may be formed; for admission into which all shall be allowed to compete; but from which, and from no other source, candidates for Staff employment shall be chosen. This will still,

to a certain extent, deprive the line of the *élite* of its officers; but at least it will render Staff situations even more than they are now the rewards of transcendent merit, while it leaves with regiments enough both of *personnel* and of talent to manage them adequately in the field or in quarters. And finally, care must be taken to render superannuation, both in the Company's and in the Queen's service, compulsory. All the improvements in minor matters, which the wit of man can devise, will not render an army effective which has only worn-out old men at its head. And the days are not, we fear, distant, when the importance of this truth will be forced upon us.

We have completed the task which we had set for ourselves. It is for the Indian Government, and the general public, to judge of the manner of its performance. For in respect to the groundwork on which our argument rests, we defy the whole body of Proprietors, with the Court of Directors and the Board of Control at their back, to controvert it. We have won an enormous empire with the sword, which is growing continually larger. We have established a system of civil administration there which protects the peasant, and disgusts all the classes above him. If we

could exterminate these classes, or stop education, and reduce 120,000,000 of people to the social condition of cultivators of the soil, then with our army even weaker in point of numbers than it is, we might be safe; for it is not among the peasant classes in any country that seditions and rebellions originate. But this we cannot do; and with a large body of discontented gentry everywhere, and whole clusters of native princes and chiefs interspersed through our dominions, it is idle to say that the continuance of our sovereignty depends, from one day to another, on anything except the army. Now the army is admitted by all competent judges to be very far, in many respects, from what it ought to be. We too are of this opinion. We have pointed out where some of the gravest defects lie, and suggested a remedy. Others must act as to them shall appear expedient in the matter.

Recent events have certainly not tended to refute the argument maintained throughout the preceding essay, or to negative the conclusion to which it leads.

At a moment when both in England and in India the minds of men were free from all anxiety—

when the Punjab being reduced to order, and Burmah pacified, the Anglo-Indian Empire appeared to consolidate itself more and more every day; when one portion of its army was spared to carry on hostilities in Persia, and the question was seriously considered whether another might not be employed in the war against China; — at this very season of assumed security to British power, and of perfect contentment among the natives with the government under which they lived, it is now ascertained that a gigantic conspiracy was arranged, and that had not Providence interfered to bring about a premature explosion, not a single European within the limits of the Bengal Presidency would have been left alive to tell the tale of England's overthrow.

Now, it is of very little consequence to the point discussed in these pages, whether the conspiracy be spoken of as a military revolt, or as an attempt on the part of the people of Hindostan to get rid of their English masters. That the native army took the lead in the movement, and has played the principal part throughout the progress of the tragedy, all parties are agreed. Indeed, they alone who are ignorant of the structure and condition of Asiatic society will believe that a movement of the sort

could have occurred at all, had not the army been persuaded to place itself in the fore-front of the battle. But it does not therefore follow that the feeling of discontent which led to this mutiny was confined to the military classes, or that with them originated the idea of quenching the fire of native indignation in the blood of the stranger. No doubt the native army, being recruited chiefly from among the agricultural population of the provinces, consists of a body of men very little educated, and therefore peculiarly open to excitement; but the argument which interested parties seek to found on these premises tells in more ways than one. As a general rule, the labouring classes in all countries look very little, of their own accord, beyond the physical wants of the day. So long as these are supplied there is content. But the labouring classes, because they are uneducated, are peculiarly liable to have their prejudices worked upon from without. And if their religion be appealed to at a time when, from any other cause, they happen to be dissatisfied, they become frantic. The agricultural risings which took place in England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, originated much more in the cessation of the convent doles than in the refusal of the Legislature to acknow-

ledge the Pope's supremacy. Yet the cunning of a few gave a religious complexion to the discontent of the many, and the safety of the Protestant throne became seriously threatened. In like manner it seems settled, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the proximate cause of the revolt of the Bengal army was the unfortunate issue to the troops of greased cartridges. But by whom were the Sepoys persuaded to regard this act as an outrage on their religion? Did the idea originate with themselves at every military station between Peshawur and Calcutta at the same instant of time, and with the same degree of intensity? He who can believe this will believe anything, except indeed the deductions of reason and common sense, which are altogether opposed to the performance of such a gratuitous miracle.

That some influence or another was brought to bear mischievously from without upon the mind of the Sepoys, and that the poison was not for the first time administered when the outbreak at Barackpore took place, will, we think, be manifest to every understanding which is capable of following a very obvious chain of argument. The facts are these:—

Between the year 1853 and the outbreak of the

mutiny in 1857, the native army of Bengal continued to be, in regard both to numbers and composition, pretty much what it was at the time when this essay was written. The *élite* of its European officers were still employed, though to a greater extent than ever, in the civil administration of the country; while between the few who remained with their colours and the native officers and Sepoys, the intercourse became, day by day, more official, and therefore more reserved. Formerly the European officer was to the Sepoy, whatever his rank might be, an adviser and friend. The Sepoy went to him at all hours, without ceremony, to consult him in his difficulties, and to open to him his mind. A recent order put a stop to this, by requiring that no native soldier should approach the quarters of his European officer except in full dress. In like manner, the European mess-room, with the habits of social exclusiveness which it engendered, withdrew the European officer entirely from intercourse with the native officer, except on points of duty. And the native officer, long taken from the same class in society with the native soldiery, had ceased, except in rare instances, to exercise the slightest moral control over his men.

Meanwhile changes had been introduced into the terms on which recruits were received into the service, which, when they came to be acted upon, gave great offence. Formerly the Sepoy used to be enlisted for service within the limits of the presidency, of late he has been enrolled for general service. He used to feel on joining his regiment that he would be kept with his colours, till by wounds or length of service he had earned a pension. For some time back he has been liable to be discharged without any pension at all, whenever considerations of economy might induce the Supreme Government to diminish the strength of the native army. And all this while the common routine of his duties has carried him, as often as the cycle of reliefs came round, further and further from his native village. For it is a curious fact that the Company, though constantly adding to the extent of its empire, has made no permanent addition to the numerical strength of its regular army. It has been content to scatter a few regiments, in small detachments, through the old provinces, in order that there might be an available force wherewith to occupy the new. And the obvious results have been — first, to loosen still more the bands of discipline in the Bengal army, already sufficiently lax;

and next, to throw a large amount of additional duty upon individuals.

The Sepoy felt all this, but concealed his feelings. He was less reticent when other, and, in his opinion, still heavier grievances overtook him. When he first crossed the Sutlij, his field allowances or batta were doubled, and he continued to draw them at the same enhanced rate for some time after the Punjab was annexed. By and by retrenchment became the order of the day, and the Sepoy's allowances in the Punjab were cut down. Now, a military system which depends for its efficiency, in ever so slight a degree, on bribing the soldier to do a soldier's work as often as the exigency arises, cannot for a moment be defended. But the fault is surely greater still, when the government which has established this system breaks through its own arrangements suddenly without preparing the soldier's mind for the change. The cutting down of the batta in the Punjab was immediately followed by partial mutinies, and the best judges in the case saw and proclaimed that the spirit of the Bengal army had ceased to be what it was in the earlier stages of our empire.

While these various causes were at work to render the native soldiers of Bengal dissatisfied, the

civil mind, throughout the whole extent of our empire, had become restless and uncomfortable. After a long-continued and ostentatious pandering to superstitious customs and caste prejudices, the English Government appeared both to Hindoos and Mahomedans, but especially to the former, to have adopted all at once a diametrically opposite policy. The Hindoos have never been opposed to the progress of education, which has been far more rapid in India within the last ten or twelve years than the people of England seem to be aware. They were not hostile—the Hindoos never have been hostile—to Christian missionaries or their operations. Indeed, Hindooism as it receives no converts from without, so it is, of all religions under the sun, the most tolerant of other religious systems. But from the hour in which the Supreme Government began to enact laws against time-honoured practices, for the abolition of which its Hindoo subjects were as yet unprepared, the conviction established itself and spread through all circles like a contagious disease, that the institutions of the country were doomed. Far be it from us to say that an error of policy is committed when suttee and infanticide are declared to be murder. Murder such practices unquestionably are, and

had our ancestors done their duty as Christian men, the natives would have been taught long ago so to consider them, and of their own accord to abandon and denounce them. But it is one thing to train the mind of a nation up to such a point as that it shall accept with gratitude laws wise and humane in themselves, it is quite another to enact these laws and to enforce obedience to them, while as yet the prejudices of 150 millions of people are in arms against them. For it is right to bear in mind that the practice of infanticide never prevailed, except among the higher castes — the Brahmins and Rajpoots. It had its origin in the same human pride which in the Middle Ages led Christian men of royal and noble birth to immure their daughters in convents, rather than consent to their contracting marriages with persons of less distinguished lineage than their own. Like the suttee, it was a social rather than a religious institution, and a little pains taken with the tribes which practised it would have led them to see matters in this light long ago, and gradually to abandon the practice, just as suttee was beginning to be abandoned before the law prohibiting the custom emanated from Calcutta.

Again, the Hindoo law which prohibits widows

from marrying may be open to objection, but it is neither so unnatural nor so iniquitous as the common observer is apt to imagine. Its original object was to prevent a mother from having her affections withdrawn from her first family by a second. For in the primitive times of Hindooism the prohibition applied only to widows who had borne children to their deceased husbands. Now, it might not be unworthy of a paternal government to aim at rooting out this prejudice, and so leading its subjects to promote second marriages, especially in cases where widows had never lived with their first husbands, or had borne no children; but to publish an edict authorising a practice which for three thousand years and more had been held in abhorrence by Hindoos of every caste, was a measure surely not dictated by prudence, and for the imprudence of which there really seems to be no legitimate excuse in the exigency of the case. It is scarcely worth while to shake the confidence of a people in its rulers, in order that second marriages may occasionally be contracted under the sanction of an obnoxious law.

But full of danger as these proceedings were, not because in themselves they are iniquitous — quite otherwise — but because the mind of India

was unprepared for them when they took place, they fall infinitely short, in this respect, of the law and custom which have abrogated the Hindoo usage of adoption in the matter of inheritance.

The Hindoo is required, both by immemorial usage and by the precepts of his religion, to provide himself before he dies with an heir. If he have no son of his own, it is necessary that he should adopt one, in order that there may survive a representative of the family, who, by the performance of certain rites, shall deliver the soul of the deceased from the pains of purgatory. Unless these rites be performed the soul of the deceased is believed to continue in suffering, and it is by virtue of the due performance of these ceremonies that the adopted son succeeds to the property and civil privileges of his adoptive father.

Now, not only have we infringed upon this custom, in common life, by declaring that the abandonment of Hindooism, and the consequent negation of the usual funeral rites, shall not be a bar to the inheritance by the son of the property and privileges of his father, but we have acted upon our own law in the cases of many rajahs and chiefs, whose territories we have seized on the plea that they died without heirs, notwithstanding

their strict adherence to the immemorial usage of the country, and the undoubted right, according to the Hindoo law, of the adopted son to take the place of his adoptive father. And here and there cases have occurred of such gross violation even of our own agreements, that the marvel is, how there can be found men usually of honest minds bold enough to stand up in defence of them. Such a case was that of the Rajah of Sattara. We were bound by treaty to pay to him, his heirs, and successors, for ever, a certain pension in lieu of the principality of which he had been deprived. No care was taken to guard against inheritance by adoption; and yet as soon as a Rajah of Sattara dies childless, we refuse, in the face of our own treaty, to recognise the claims of his successor, while at the same time we permit the adopted individual to fulfil all the conditions which according to the Hindoo law secure to him the rights of succession.

Subjoined is an official document from which it will be seen that the policy recognised in the case of the Rajah of Sattara has been faithfully pursued ever since. Out of the fifteen principalities annexed, or treated as liable to annexation, between the years 1849 and 1856, not fewer than nine are attached on the plea of failure of heirs, the Hindoo

usage of adoption being in every instance ignored by a government which professes to secure to all orders of its subjects the freest exercise of their own customs, as well social as religious.*

* RETURN enumerating the several Territories which have been annexed, or have been proposed to be annexed, to the British Dominions by the Governor-General of India, since the close of the Punjab war, stating the grounds of annexation, or proposed annexation, with the cases in which the assent of the Court of Directors has been withheld, and stating the area, population, gross and net revenues of such territories, so far as the same have been estimated or ascertained.

	Date of Annexation.	Reasons.	Area.	Population.	Gross Revenue.	Net Revenue.	Remarks.
Jeitnore (Bundelcund).	1849	Failure of Heirs.	Square Miles. 165	16,000	Rupees. 64,130	Rupees. not known	
Suminulpore (South West Frontier, Bengal).	"	" " "	4693	274,000	73,000	" "	
Bughat (Cis-Sutlej Hill States).	1850	" "	30	3420	7000	" "	
Part of Sikkim (North Eastern India).	"	-- Insult to the British Government in seizing the person of its representative.	1670	61,766	32,037		-- The Court of Directors having left it to the discretion of the Government of India to annex Bughat, or to grant the Estate to a cousin of the Chief, that Government decided on the former course. (See Parliamentary Paper, No. 138 of Session 1854.)
Oodeypore (South West Frontier of Bengal).	1852	Failure of Heirs.	2306	123,000	16,480	" "	
Pegu " "	"	-- Conquered from the Burmese during the last war.	20,000	1,000,000	not known	" "	
Territory resumed from Meer Ali Murad, one of the Ameers of Sind.	"	-- Forgery of a Treaty whereby he acquired certain districts which belonged to the British Government.	5412	not known	483,658	2,61,043	-- See Parliamentary Paper, No. 73 of Session 1852.
County of Tularem Sonaputtee in Northern Cachar	1853	-- Misconduct and breach of engagements with the British Government.	2160	5015	1208	1017	
Nagpore Territory	1854	Failure of Heirs.	80,000	4,000,000	4,000,000	not known	-- See Parliamentary Paper, No. 416 of Session 1854.
Jhansi (Bundelcund).	"	Failure of Heirs.	2532	200,000	613,899	" "	-- See Parliamentary Paper, No. 431 of Session 1845.
Boolawul (Candeish).	1855	" "	"	910	2727	" "	

It was impossible that acts like these could occur without shaking the confidence of the entire Hindoo population in the good faith of the English Government. They had borne with patience the overthrow in war of their native dynasties. They had seen their native gentry degraded, by the closing against them of all avenues to advancement in the civil and military service of their own country. In

CASES in which Annexation has been proposed by the Government in India.

	Annexation proposed.	Area.	Population.	Revenues.	Remarks.
		Square Miles.		Rupees.	
Kerowlee (Rajpootana).	1852	1800	- -	511,402	- - On the Rajah's death without heirs, the Government of India recommended that this Estate should be held to have lapsed; but the Court of Directors decided on its continuance under a Native Ruler, and permitted an adoption. The Government of India subsequently withdrew their recommendation. (See Parliamentary Paper, No. 455 of Session 1855.)
Adjyghur (Bundelcund).	1855	340	45,000	175,000	- - The Government of India proposed to annex Adjyghur on failure of heirs, but the Court have directed that the subject should be reconsidered.
Inchulkurunjee (Colapore).	1856	800	43,547	15,000	- - The Chief of Inchulkurunjee, a feudatory of the Colapore State, having died, leaving no heir, and the territory having therefore lapsed to Colapore, it is proposed that Colapore shall cede the Estate in payment of a debt due to the British Government. The subject is under consideration.
Tanjore, Fort and Ground adjacent.	,,	- -	- -	- -	- - Under the Treaty of 1799 the Rajah was left in possession of the Fort as a place of residence, but yielding no revenue. The Rajah having died, leaving no heir, the Government of India considers the Fort to have lapsed. The decision of the Court of Directors has not yet been communicated to that Government.

Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, their village system itself had been broken in upon, and the property in the soil transferred from its rightful owners to a set of hereditary tax-gatherers; yet, with a resignation which is inculcated by their religious faith, they had submitted, if not cheerfully, at all events patiently. Moreover, the advantages which they derived from living under a strong government reconciled them to its continuance, though exercised by the stranger. Individuals were certain to obtain justice if wronged by any of their neighbours. And the provinces were secured from outrage at the hands of a foreign enemy. But when the more thoughtful, or, it may be, the more artful among them, saw their most cherished customs one after another set aside, alarm at the danger with which Hindooism itself seemed to be threatened took the place of confidence. We do not know how far the majority of our readers may be aware that for some time back there has existed in India a Hindoo protection society, — that the seat of its management is in Calcutta, — that it consists of Hindoos possessing social rank and influence among their own body, of wealthy merchants, of persons in public employ, of native lawyers, — all of them educated men, and very many able

both to converse and correspond with ease and accuracy in English. The object of the society is, to resist the social revolution which seems to be in progress; and we need scarcely add, that if not joined, it is approved and secretly countenanced, by every rajah and Hindoo chief, whether within the limits of the British Empire or beyond them.

There is not, as far as we know, any direct evidence to prove that the Chupatties, which took their mysterious course some time ago through the whole of the North-Western Provinces, emanated from this society. There is no proof, in the legal sense of the term, that the conveyance of the Chupatties from village to village, and from Purgana to Purgana, had any immediate connection with the Sepoy mutiny. But on the other hand, we are without the shadow of ground for asserting that no such connection existed; for we are still profoundly in the dark both as to the origin and the object of the movement. In point of time, however, there is a very remarkable coincidence between the passage of these cakes and the revolt of the Sepoys. Let us see whether other and still more palpable tokens of connection between civil discontent and military revolt be not discernible.

For many years back the Bengal army has been

recruited chiefly from the Kingdom of Oude. The young men who took service with us were the younger sons of native yeomen, — the proprietors each of the portion of land which he cultivated, and which was seldom of sufficient extent to give employment and afford bread to more than the father and his eldest son. But the yeomen of Oude, like the real landowners of every other province in India, live together in villages which have certain tracts of land attached to them. Some of it is common land, but by far the larger proportion is held in separate right by separate proprietors. We shall take occasion by and by to explain how every village in India forms a distinct community within itself; how its institutions are municipal; how it enjoys, to as large an extent as any borough in England, the privileges of self-government, and contributes by assessment on the inhabitants, not only to the royal revenue, but to the revenues of the corporate body. Meanwhile, other matters demand our attention.

The King of Oude was accustomed, like the kings of France previously to the great revolution, to let out the revenues of his country to farmers. The amount to be paid by these farmers was fixed by agreement between them and the finance

minister. And it was customary in Oude, as it has always been in native states, to return to the farmer a bonus on prompt or anticipated payment, amounting, we believe, to ten or twelve per cent. And here all concern between the king and his ministers ceased in the matter. The farmer was left at liberty to collect from the proprietors as he could, and when he could; and a great deal of oppression, and not unfrequently bloodshed, attended every effort to get in the taxes. For every village in the country is surrounded by rude fortifications, and every villager is armed with matchlock and sword. And it rarely happened that the farmer succeeded in realising the full amount of his demands without fighting for it.

The people of Oude complained to the king, but no attention was paid to them. They then communicated with their sons and brothers who served in British regiments, and their sons and brothers carried the complaint to their officers, by whom it was communicated to the general of the district, and through him to the British Resident at Lucknow. The British Resident forthwith interfered; and it never happened, in cases where the relatives of Sepoys sought redress, that redress was refused. We do not mean to contend that such proceedings

as these will bear to be looked at through a European medium. The practice of farming his revenues was both unjust and impolitic in the King of Oude. It exposed his people to grievous oppression. The practice of interfering with the fiscal arrangements of an independent sovereign, to which the representatives of the Company at the Court of Lucknow had recourse, would not have been tolerated in Europe, and can scarcely be defended in India. So far as we were concerned, however, it was a profitable procedure, for it enabled us to exercise considerable control over the general policy of Oude, and attached to us by a tie stronger than their more military allegiance the troops whose families we were able to befriend.

In an evil hour the Governor and Council came to the decision, that to persevere longer in this course of perpetual remonstrance would be discreditable to the position of the British Government. An armed force was marched upon Lucknow. The king was surprised in his palace; and the Bengal army naturally expected that at length the wrongs of their relatives were about to receive full redress. They were prepared to see the king tied down by stringent treaties. They were willing that he should be set aside, and another prince of

the royal line placed upon the throne. But that the Government which they served was about to seize their country as its own,—to overthrow the native dynasty,—degrade the native gentry, and by introducing a new system of management, deprive them and their families of the rights which they had heretofore enjoyed, — for this they were not prepared. From that hour the feelings of the Bengal Sepoys became hostile to the Government.

It was at this unlucky moment that the order to make use of greased cartridges came out. The parties, whosoever they might be, who had banded together to corrupt the native soldiery, took eager advantage of the circumstance. The Sepoys were reminded of the changes, all hostile to Hindooism, which for some years back had been going on, and assured that the new ammunition was prepared for the express purpose of violating the laws of caste. Smarting under the sense of wrongs, some real, many more imaginary, the Hindoo Sepoys agreed, almost to a man, to do as the chiefs of the conspiracy required; and the removal of a large portion of European troops for service in Persia presented an opportunity of action which was too favourable to be passed by unimproved.

We are not unaware that popular opinion,

wherever it looks deeper than mere frensy for the causes of the late revolt, has pronounced the movement to be a Mahomedan one. It appears to us, on the contrary, to have been strictly a Hindoo movement, which the Mahomedans, as little reconciled as ever to Christian supremacy, endeavoured, as soon as matters took a settled form, to turn to their own account. Indeed, we are strongly impressed with the belief that the Mahomedans were never fully taken into the counsels of the conspirators, nor entertained any serious thought of rising till after the revolt of the 3rd regiment of light cavalry at Meerut. And this opinion is strengthened by the fact that so late as the 18th of March, 1857, a Mahomedan native officer, Soobadar Muddah Khan of the 34th Bengal N. I., placed in arrest two Sepoys of the 2nd N. I. for proposing that he should co-operate with them and other rebels in seizing the fort at Calcutta. Indeed, we will venture to go a little further. It is by no means clear to us that the defection of the Mahomedan soldiery as a body, and especially of the irregular cavalry, heretofore so implicitly and deservedly trusted, may not be attributed in a great degree to the injudicious proceedings of the authorities at Meerut on the occasion referred to.

For the pride of the Moslem could not brook the riveting of chains on their comrades in open day; and having once violated the restraints of discipline by breaking into the gaol and releasing the prisoners they threw themselves headlong into the tumult, rode off to Delhi, and gave a twofold consistency to the plot, by proclaiming the descendants of Shah-Aulum king.

If the view which we have taken of this unhappy affair be the right one, there will be no difficulty in accounting both for the hostility of the people of Oude and of very many more of the North-Western provinces, as well as for the loyalty, as important as it was unlooked for, of the Seiks. The people of Oude took up arms for the independence of their country and in defence of their own customs. The villagers and many of the chiefs in Rajputana struck for their religious and social institutions. The Seiks hating both Hindoo and Mahomedan, at once espoused the side of their European conquerors, by whom, upon the whole, they had been well treated, and whose military service suited at once their soldierly tastes and their financial requirements. For the Seiks, be it remembered, do not constitute the population of the Punjab. They are a military class, comparatively

few in number, dwelling in the midst of a numerous and unwarlike race; and would have given great trouble to the British Government, had not the British Government, with equal policy and kindness, taken very many of them into its service. Received at first with misgivings, and distributed in fragments through the native regiments, they met with no hearty welcome from their Mussulman and Hindoo comrades; and they proved, probably for this, among other reasons, our surest stay in the hour of need.

We have spoken without reserve of what seem to us to have been the errors in Lord Dalhousie's policy, and endeavoured, in no spirit of hostility towards that distinguished nobleman, to show how they operated in hastening forward a catastrophe which sooner or later must have taken place. For it is the grossest self-flattery to assume, as popular writers and speakers assume everywhere, that the peoples of India either now prefer, or ever will be brought to prefer, a foreign to a domestic government. The former may be, as on the whole our government of India is, just, wise, liberal, and humane. The history of the latter may tell a tale of constant outrages on the lives and properties of their subjects. But no abstract reasoning, however

subtle, no comparison of present ease with traditionary suffering, will ever reconcile nations to the humiliating fact that strangers are their masters. Look to Poland at the present moment. We believe that the Poles, so far as their physical comfort is concerned, enjoy a greater amount of prosperity under the rule of the Czar, than they ever did in the most flourishing times of their indigenous monarchy. But are they reconciled thereby to the Russian yoke? No doubt India seems more than any other portion of the globe prepared, so to speak, for the dominion of strangers, from which, indeed, throughout the last eight hundred years it has never been free. Its great social institutions, its village communities, whether they exist singly or be drawn together, like different parishes and boroughs, into cities, gather round themselves whatever of patriotism burns in the Hindoo heart. And so long as these are preserved to them entire, the people remaining in that state of civilisation which is suited to the appreciation of them, supreme governments may change both their forms and personalities, without awakening any desire on the part of the masses to resist them. But in this line of obstructive policy England cannot persevere for ever. There is a moral compulsion upon her to raise the

civilisation of her Asiatic subjects, and to put it in their power to embrace a faith purer than their own; and in exact proportion as she succeeds in achieving these objects will the difficulties of maintaining her supremacy in the East be enhanced. If, indeed, her onward march be conducted with caution, she may assure herself that generations will pass ere her rule is seriously disturbed, for national institutions are not changed, except by violence, in a day. But as the final result of success, wisely sought for, must be first to render 200 millions of people worthy to govern themselves, and next to awaken in them the desire for self-government; so a premature interference with their cherished customs, no matter how pure the motive which dictates the attempt, can lead only to disaffection and revolt. Of Lord Dalhousie's efforts to develop the physical resources of the country, not less than of the impulse which he has given to native education, and his anxiety to promote natives to places of trust under Government, it is impossible to speak too highly. Already between 1853 and 1857 very much of the reproach which Munro and others used to bring against British government has been removed. But the ill-advised, because premature, regulations which forbade the

continuance of long-cherished customs, and the mischievous policy of annexation to which these regulations appear to have paved the way, have, for the moment at least, rendered all his other measures nugatory, and involved us in a contest which can never sufficiently be deplored.

It is curious to observe with what perverseness of ingenuity the advocates of the policy of annexation support their views. The finger is pointed to Gwallior and Indore, and to other still independent states; and because the chiefs of these states have taken no part against us, it is argued that the policy of annexation which seeks to extend our empire by the gradual absorption of the whole of India cannot be a dangerous one. Common sense would appear to dictate a conclusion diametrically the reverse. The chiefs of Gwalior and Indore are our allies, because we have made no move to depose them or annex their territories. The former, indeed, can scarcely have forgotten the policy of Lord Ellenborough at once generous and wise, which, content with obtaining redress of admitted wrongs, left him in undisturbed possession of his royalty. Why should they lift up their hands against us? Would they gain anything by the success of a movement which must reduce them

at once to the condition of satraps under the Mogul? And so it is in Mysore also, the chief of which put down a movement of his own people, of which the success must have involved him in a contest, first with us, and by and by with the government which succeeded us, whatever it might be. But very different are the feelings both of the deposed royal family and of the people of Oude, as well as of the ex-chiefs of Bundelcund and other principalities, and of the inhabitants of these principalities. Even for Nana Sahib, monster of cruelty as he has proved himself to be, there is this to be said, that he has never made a secret of the wrong which he believes himself to have sustained at the hands of the English Government, and that the prejudices of the people coincide with his view of the case. So far then is the conduct of Scindia, Holkar, and the Nizam from demonstrating that discontent in India is not generated by the policy of annexation, that, according to our view of the case, it proves exactly the reverse. Scindia, Holkar, and the Nizam are still independent—the allies indeed of the British Empire, but administering their own affairs according to the customs of their ancestors. They are wise enough to understand that the overthrow of the government which guarantees to them the

continued enjoyment of these privileges, could only involve them in dangers and difficulties elsewhere; therefore they refuse to co-operate with the rebels within our provinces. But their contingents, raised at our request, and officered by our countrymen, revolt to a man. Surely there is no evidence here that the attachment of the natives to their British rulers grows stronger as the intercourse between the races becomes more intimate; and surely all this justifies the conclusion at which Monro, Malcolm, Russel, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe have arrived, "that every new state added to our territories in India is a nail driven into our coffin."

This is not the occasion either to trace the progress of the revolt itself, or to criticise the measures which were adopted by the local government to put it down. The story of the first has been told by pens more graphic than ours; the merits of the last will, doubtless, be inquired into before the only tribunal which is qualified to decide upon their fitness. This much, however, we may venture to suggest, that large allowances ought to be made for circumstances; that the local government if surprised, was surprised in common with every commanding officer in the country; and that it did its best, when the danger fully developed itself,

to meet and subdue it. Whether or not the home government was equally energetic is another question. The overland route, which was latterly used to good purpose, was as open in June as in November; while steamers could have been hired in the first week of July, from the Cunard and other lines, of tonnage sufficient to carry 5000 men at a trip in sixty days to Calcutta. Had either course been followed, many valuable lives with an enormous burden of anxiety and expense would have been saved. That, however, which the forethought of the home government failed to achieve, the indomitable courage of a handful of British troops on the spot has accomplished. To them, and to them exclusively, England is indebted for the preservation of her Indian Empire; nor perhaps has any act of his administration reflected greater credit upon Lord Canning than the issuing of the state paper, in which, with such manly candour, he makes public avowal of the fact.

Forgetting, therefore, as far as it is possible to do so, the details of the past, it becomes us to take the future into our most anxious consideration, and to make up our minds in regard to the system upon which India, after it shall have been reconquered, is to be governed.

And here, at the outset, it is but fair to acknowledge, that long before the occurrence of the recent revolt our own opinion in regard to this matter was formed. We believed in 1853, we believe so still, that the double government by a Board of Control, planted in one quarter of London, and a Court of Directors sitting in another, is not only a blunder, but a mockery. For in point of fact there is no double government, nor has been, since the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1834. So long as the views of the directors happen to coincide with those of the President of the Board of Control, they are acted upon ; and the letter of the law which conferred on the court authority to exercise its functions as a governing body, in the name of the Company, is so far observed. But the moment a difference of opinion arises, the will of the President of the Board of Control becomes supreme. Hear General Briggs on this subject, whose little work, entitled "India and Europe compared," ought, at a juncture like the present, to be in the hands of every member of the Legislature. After sketching in concise but lucid terms the political history of the Company from the passing of Mr. Pitt's Act in 1784 up to the present time, the general says,—

"While the East India Company existed as a trading body, the Court of Directors took a high position among the mercantile communities of this great city, and even since their occupation is gone, they seem unwilling to divest themselves of the idea that they are a very important branch of the city corporations, and flatter themselves that, instead of being a Board of administration like any other Board of Government, they are to a certain extent an independent body. The mask, however, is being torn off every day. When the Earl of Ellenborough said, 'While President of the Board of Control, I governed India,' he only spoke the truth. When Lord Broughton told a Committee of the House of Commons that 'He made the Afghan war, the Court of Directors had nothing to do with it,' he only spoke the truth. When Sir Charles Wood stated in his place in the House, that 'No doubt the Ministers were responsible for the government of India,' he only spoke the truth. And if the present President of the Board of Control were to say 'L'État c'est moi,' he would but speak the truth. Indeed it has been lately stated in Parliament, that the Court of Directors were not only unconsulted in regard to the Persian war, but that the expedition was ordered from home without their assent. Shall it be said, then, that the Court of Directors are nobody,—far from it,—they conduct the affairs intrusted to them with zeal and integrity; they exercise the result of their experience with candour and honesty, and not unfrequently with boldness, in offering their opinions to the Ministers of the Crown, so much so that it is said they have even placed their personal liberty in jeopardy by resisting measures incompatible with what they deemed their duty and their honour. By the Act of 1854, they have been deprived of the most valuable portion of their patronage, of which a large share was also enjoyed by the President of the Board of Control, and in return the Court have had their salaries increased by two hundred a year each,—a paltry recompense for the sacrifice required of them.'"

We entirely coincide in the views here expressed. Under its new, even more than under its old, constitution, the Court of Directors is neither more nor less than a government board of administration. It deliberates now, as it did twenty years ago, by committees, and records its decisions in minutes, to which the signatures of the chairman and deputy-chairman are affixed. But it can do nothing. It cannot so much as transmit orders to the functionaries who have sworn to govern India in the name of the Company, till permitted so to do by the President of the Board of Control. Is it not at once a delusion and a snare to uphold any longer so unreal a system? The people of England may, to a certain extent, be deceived by it. Blame is often thrown upon the Court of Directors for acts which they never recommended; while the minister of the crown, trusting to the ignorance of Parliament, is able, if he be willing, to shift the responsibility of his own misdeeds to a body which had no share in them whatever. Has Parliament become so besotted as to permit the continued practice of such state jugglery? or will it embrace the opportunity which Providence seems to have brought within its reach, of placing at last the home government of India on a rational footing?

Again, were it even the fact that the Court of Directors possessed authority sufficient to withstand the President of the Board of Control whenever he appeared to be wrong, the mere geographical severance of the two authorities, the location of the one in Leadenhall Street while the other sits in Cannon Row, could not fail to operate mischievously in the progress of public business. Co-ordinate authorities are much more likely to compromise their differences, when they disagree, as well as to arrive without any previous disagreement at the same conclusions, if they be in the habit of holding constant personal intercourse, than if all their communications be by written minutes and in formal interviews arranged beforehand. And if the authorities be not co-ordinate, if the one be appointed only to deliberate and advise, and it be the province of the other to decide and issue instructions, surely common sense appears to dictate, that the same roof ought to cover them while managing the important affairs with which they are intrusted.

It appears, then, to us, that the principle of the arrangement proposed by Lord Ellenborough, when the renewal of the Charter was under discussion in the year 1854, is the only true one.

India requires a Secretary of State of her own,

with position and power similar to those of other Secretaries of State; and therefore, like them, directly responsible to Parliament for his official acts and their consequences. But forasmuch as India is not England, and that to master the policy of the one is a very different thing from mastering the policy of the other, the office or bureau in which the business of India is transacted must be constituted upon a plan peculiar to itself. By all means let there be appended to it, as there is to other offices, a parliamentary as well as a permanent Under-Secretary of State. When his chief happens to be a member of the House of Lords, the parliamentary Under-Secretary will speak in the House of Commons for the department. But the permanent Under-Secretary, as well as the head of every branch into which the office must of necessity be divided, should be chosen because of his intimate acquaintance with the past history and present condition of India and its inhabitants. In a word, the council nominated to co-operate with the Secretary of State for India should consist of men whose services in India itself have been marked by consummate wisdom; and who, bringing experience to bear upon the general sagacity of the minister, would be able to advise him upon each question as

it arose, and to exercise a considerable share of moral influence over him. It is only by such a course that we can guard against the evil incident to a parliamentary government like ours — a constant or even frequent change of ministers, — an occurrence which even in the ordinary departments of state never takes place without some inconvenience, and which, if brought to bear in its simplicity upon Indian administration, would be ruinous.

Subordinate to the Secretary and Under-Secretaries of State, five great departments should be formed at the new India Office, for the management of which in detail committees of three seem to offer the most convenient machinery. The Finance department should consider and advise upon the whole scheme of Indian taxation, making its arrangements so as to render the burdens upon the people as little oppressive as possible; while at the same time provision is made for the demands of the public service, and the payment of interest on the public debt. It should be the business of this committee to prepare year by year the Indian budget, which the Secretary or Under-Secretary of State, as the case might be, should submit to the House of Commons. The Judicial Committee should in

like manner revise, when necessary, the laws of India, and watch their working; receiving and digesting, for the information of the Secretary of State and of Parliament, all the reports sent home from the local tribunals. The Military Committee, consisting of military officers of distinction, should undertake the entire administration of the Indian army, as well in the supply of those wants which in England are cared for by the civil branch of the War Office, as in the maintenance of discipline and recommending for appointments and promotions. The Political Committee should have charge of treaties with native and other states, and make arrangements for causing the influence of India to be felt as often as imperial reasons might urge the Cabinet to apply it to other than Asiatic purposes. Lastly, the Home Committee should be charged with the duty of contracting for, packing, and sending off, whatever stores, military or otherwise, might be required, besides undertaking a general superintendence of all the business which could be better transacted for the good government of India at home than on the spot. Probably, too, it might be convenient to commit the control of the ecclesiastical affairs of India to this committee, and to charge it with the responsibility of recommending

qualified medical men for service in the East; and if an Indian navy is still to be maintained, of which we question both the need and the expediency, it might also settle the number of ships to be kept in commission, and point out the best mode of supplying them with men and officers.

An arrangement of this sort would bring the whole machinery of Indian Home Government into one place. It would also furnish to the Indian Minister the ablest subordinates whom service in India could supply; with fifteen men, chosen for their wisdom as well as their experience, and holding their appointments as committee-men for a fixed term of years. For we think that one of the qualifications for office, as an Indian committee-man, should be ten years' service at least in India itself. And we are of opinion that a seat in the Indian Office should, except for malversation or proved incapacity, be held for ten years more. At the end of this term the committee-man should be allowed to retire upon a pension.* Meanwhile, a

* It may be questioned whether an intermixture of pure English with Anglo-Indian statesmen in the committees might not be advisable. Prejudice as well as knowledge may spring from long residence in India; and possibly it could be best moderated in the new India House by being brought in contact

Board of General Management, similar in its construction to the Board of Admiralty, should, we think, be formed in the Indian Office, to receive and digest the recommendations of the several committees, and to authorise their being carried into effect. The Board of Management should consist of the two under-secretaries and the chairmen of the several committees, having the Secretary of State at their head; just as the First Lord, though in nine cases out of ten a civilian, presides under existing circumstances at the Board of Admiralty. Such an arrangement, as it would enable both the Secretary of State and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary to take part in all deliberations on Indian affairs, so, assuming them to be possessed of ordinary capacity, it would imbue them in time with a pretty accurate knowledge of the subjects which they might be expected to discuss elsewhere. Meanwhile their formal responsibility to Parliament would be preserved, by empowering the Indian Secretary to act upon his own views, even in cases where they were opposed to the expressed opinion of all the other Members of the Board. In

with European judgments on disputed points. But we are satisfied that to qualify for a seat at the managing board personal service in India is necessary.

this event, however, it should be competent to each dissenting member to make a record of his disapproval, and to assign his reasons; which record the Secretary of State should be obliged to produce as often as it might be called for in either House of Parliament. The responsibility of the Indian Secretary in particular, and of the Queen's Cabinet in general, would thus be preserved intact; and to them would justly belong all the credit or the blame of strokes of policy — successful or the reverse.

Look we now to British India itself, and to its local government — a minute description of which would carry us beyond the limits which it seems desirable to set to a supplementary essay like the present. Fortunately for us, however, as well as for the general reader, the author of "Europe and India compared" has well digested this subject, and we gladly transfer to our own pages the following extract from his work: —

"It may be well imagined that the immediate control over millions of subjects, spread over so wide a surface as that of our territory in India, must be distributed among several authorities possessing extensive powers. Hence we find the Governor-General of all India directing the great political machine, and, aided by a legislative council, framing general laws for the whole of India, or reviewing, revising, and sanctioning special laws or regulations for the local administrations of the

empire. The Governor-General's legislative council consists of the commander-in-chief in India, and nominees or representatives of the minor governments (which have to be described), and a legal member appointed by the home authorities.

"The minor governments consist of a governor and council at Madras and at Bombay; a lieutenant-governor, without a council, for Lower Bengal; and one for the North-west Provinces; the two latter nominated by the Governor-General for the time being, subject to the approval of the home authorities: besides which, there are commissioners for the government of the Punjab, Oude, Nagpoor, and Mysore, under the direct control of the supreme government; and commissioners for Sind and Sattara, under the Bombay government.

"To each of the governors, ruling, respectively, over twenty-two millions of subjects in Madras, and eleven millions in Bombay, the councils attached consist of the local commander of the forces, and two members of the civil service. These governments are under specific codes of regulations, which have been accumulating for the last hundred years, but which, within the last twenty-five or thirty, it has not been found expedient to extend to the several tracts of territory that have during the latter period fallen into our hands. All the governments are required to keep diaries of their proceedings (a rule that extends to the representatives at native courts), which are transmitted periodically to higher authorities. Those of the governors are transmitted to England in duplicate; those of lieutenant-governors or commissioners to the Governor-General in council, who transmits their proceedings to England with any comments he deems necessary. It has always appeared to me, that where the governors and commanders-in-chief of the minor presidencies are selected by the ministers at home, without reference to their previous knowledge of India, the association of experienced members of the civil service with them is a wholesome measure, more especially as these members are required to record the reason of their dissent from any step

which the governor may think proper to carry out on his own responsibility. An Indian governor can hardly do wrong, without being warned of the probable consequence by his council, and hence it rarely happens that he acts in opposition to it. The patronage of all civil appointments, both in the civil branches of the army and in military commands, belongs to the governor; while nominations to the staff, in which the discipline of the army is concerned, are left to the commander-in-chief of each presidency; and as it seldom happens that either of these high authorities has had any previous connection with the localities to which he is attached, the patronage is, according to certain regulations and qualifications, pretty fairly distributed. The members of council are elected by the Court of Directors, and their names submitted to the President of the Board of Control, whose approval is requisite.

"Thus, it seems, from the passing of Mr. Pitt's bill in 1784, the heads of the civil and military governments in India have been nominees of the Crown, aided, in duties with which they were previously unacquainted by councils selected from the civil branch of the service, the members of which are bound by their oaths of office to give disinterested advice, consistent with their experience and judgment."

The machinery thus concisely and accurately described seems upon the whole well adapted to serve its purpose, so long as the provinces over which it exercises control remain in a state of internal repose.

For a contingency like that into which recent events have hurried us, it is however clearly unfit. We require now, we shall probably require for some time to come, a dictator in British India,—a

Governor-General who, being fully conversant with Indian affairs, shall deserve as well as receive the unlimited confidence of the Queen's Government; who shall be authorised to take into his councils whomsoever he may find on the spot best qualified to advise, and by the mere force of his will to maintain, modify, abolish, or change, whatever laws and customs of European growth he may find in force, or placed in abeyance for temporary purposes. The power intrusted to such a functionary would indeed be gigantic. So would be his responsibility, for he must be required not only to act, but to keep a written record of every official proceeding, and to assign his reasons for the policy which he pursues. And these records he should be commanded to transmit at stated intervals to England, in order that Her Majesty's Ministers may judge how far he is or is not competent to bear the burden which they have imposed upon him.

If policy like this be too bold for these degenerate times, or if there can be found no individual at once sufficiently sagacious and sufficiently instructed to undertake the trust, the next best arrangement, as it appears to us, would be to consider the whole of India as in a disturbed state, and to instruct the existing authorities, after they shall

have put down the rebellion, to maintain order by means of the armed force at their disposal; in other words, to proclaim martial law wherever the slightest tokens of disloyalty manifested themselves. Meanwhile, there might be called together in London a convention of Indian statesmen, men of all shades of opinion in general politics, — some of old standing, such as Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Mr. Holt M'Kenzie, and General Briggs; others of more recent experience, such as Sir Henry Rawlinson, Mr. Willoughby, General Pollock, and, above all, Sir John Lawrence, if he can be spared from the Punjab,—who, under the Presidency of the Earl of Ellenborough, should be directed to consider the whole subject of local administration, and to report to Her Majesty their views as to the course which it would be judicious hereafter to follow. Such an assembly as this could not fail to arrive at conclusions, which, however they might run counter to the opinions of individuals, would recommend themselves to the good sense of the nation at large. For the nation would receive in the very constitution of this court the best guarantee that could be offered for the wisdom of the policy recommended. It would be the dispassionate judgment of well-instructed minds bent upon the attain-

ment of a great object—the welfare at once of India and of England.

If either of these courses be adopted, the public mind may permit itself to rest. It will have made over, so to speak, its own volitions to particular minds worthy to become the depositories of them, and should quietly abide the issue. But if, as is more probable, party feeling and considerations of personal interest stand in the way of both, there remains no other alternative than that the legislature shall be inundated with proposals from all quarters. We have no desire to be classed in the line of constitution-mongers for India; but one or two points, especially deserving of notice at this juncture, present themselves to our mind; and we shall take the liberty, very briefly, and not without much diffidence in the correctness of our own judgment, to state them.

It appears, then, to us, that, whatever the authority may be to which Parliament may commit the task of recasting the machinery of Government in British India, it will find quite as much to do in the work of retrospection and regression as in that of progress. For we have lost, as far as our moral influence in the country is concerned, a large portion of the century during which our supremacy

has existed; and must therefore, as well as the actual condition of the people will allow, begin again at the beginning. In the old provinces, such as Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, it will indeed be difficult, not to say impossible, to find a solid substratum of native institutions on which to build. For the village system, which Lord Cornwallis swept away, could hardly be re-established, and the aristocracy which his perpetual settlement was intended to create has struck no root in the soil. Common sense, therefore, and a due regard to the wants and principles of human nature, must be our only guides there. In like manner, there is an insurmountable bar to the restoration of the King of Oude, and of any of the princes whose territories we have annexed. Such acts, however just in themselves, or even graceful, would be attributed to fear; and we should lose more, in the ill-concealed contempt of the people, than we should gain through the gratitude of their restored rulers. But in the principalities over which these princes have just ceased to reign, as well as in every other quarter of British India not touched by the perpetual settlement, enough remains of the original constitution of society to afford an admirable base from which to start in our operations. Read General Briggs on

this subject. After pointing out that the differences which separate the Hindoo from the European may all be traced to the effects of climate, and of the religious prejudices of the former, he goes on to prove that, according to four unerring tests, Hindoo and European can be shown to have sprung from the same root, and are therefore capable of being acted upon for good by the same influences wisely applied. "Climate," he says, "has affected the appearance and habits of the wanderers east and west; but they are distinguished by four peculiarities belonging to no other race of men, and which are never found separated. These are, first, feature; second, language; third, habits as conquerors; fourth, civil institutions."

Of the affinity in feature and language between Hindoos and Europeans, we need not pause to speak. The thin, straight or aquiline nose, the plump but not projecting lip, the oval face, the abundance of silky hair, are the distinguishing peculiarities in physiognomy of the Caucasian races. They are equally exhibited in the European and the Hindoo. The Sanscrit language, of which India is the seat, is now acknowledged to be the root of all the Western dialects. It is the root also of all the dialects spoken in India. The

Caucasian races, whether in India or in Europe, have invariably reduced the people whom they subdued by arms to a state of agrestic, not of domestic, slavery. And last, and most remarkable of all, they have, both in the East and in the West, brought with them and established in the conquered countries municipal institutions. The remains of these institutions are everywhere to be found in Europe, though the tendency to centralisation which is inherent in absolute monarchies has here and there a good deal obscured them. They survive in Switzerland, where there is no monarchy at all, and still form the great bulwark of that constitutional government under which the people of England live. "In India," says General Briggs, "they are, in spite of the despotic rule of ages, found to be universal; but most perfect where they have escaped Mahomedan dominion."

The first to draw attention to this remarkable fact was Colonel Mark Wilkes, who in 1808 pointed out that in the south of India the country was divided into municipalities, having within themselves all the elements of a republican form of government. Sir John Malcolm, in 1817, satisfied himself that similar institutions had existed from time immemorial in the north; and deeply lamented

that in our anxiety to reform we had swept them away. How they work, when preserved in their integrity, General Briggs shall explain.

"The lands of each township are accurately defined, including waste, wood, and common; and measures are taken to insure the knowledge of the limits by a belt embracing the whole, which is subdivided into as many parts (usually twelve) as there are public officers to fulfil the civil functions of the community. The offices and the lands are hereditary and entailed, and cannot be alienated but with the consent of the direct heirs, being of age. The same rule prevails with regard to the lands of the township held by descendants of the original founders.

"The village officers consist of a head man representing the mayor of Europe, a registrar or town-clerk, a Brahmin priest and his assistant or clerk, and an astronomer, who calculates nativities, constructs almanacks, indicates the seasons, and acts as schoolmaster to children under twelve or thirteen years of age; a watchman, a currier or cordwainer, a barber-surgeon, a carpenter, a smith, a potter or brickmaker, a washerman, and, where there is a running stream or artificial channels for irrigation, an officer who regulates the fair distribution of the water. Each of these officers enjoys a portion of the boundary land in freehold, which is exempt from taxation.

"The mayor and the town-clerk act in a double capacity. The former represents the community in all its transactions with the Government, and on his accession to office receives a formal recognition as its official representative in capacity of magistrate, and as collector of the public revenue. The clerk is also similarly invested, and is, in virtue of his office, bound to keep certain accounts, which are open to the Government at all times. The magisterial powers of the mayor are definite, and do not (under the Native Government) extend beyond

confinement for a few hours. It is, however, competent for him to decide civil suits with the written consent of the parties, or to refer them, under specific rules, either to arbitration or to assessors acting under his authority in open court.

"While it is a recognised principle of sovereign right that all land not included in any township belongs to the Crown, yet, when once established, that right merges simply into a claim on the produce, a fixed portion of which is assigned to the State. The amount appears at one time in India not to have exceeded a twelfth or a tenth part, but under special circumstances might legitimately be extended to an eighth or a sixth, and in time of war or invasion temporarily to a fourth.

"These divisions of the crops take place after deducting one-tenth, which is partitioned according to a definite rule among the village officers. This portion, with their freeholds, constitutes the retaining fee to secure, at least, one family of each denomination for the wants of the community, by whom they are paid for work as performed.

"As the township enlarges, so do the several members of the offices or trades increase, and where it has become sufficiently important to hold markets a patent is applied for to Government; the market-day is fixed so as not to interfere with other neighbouring towns, and fees are authorised to cover the expenses of a clerk of the market, who is empowered to punish summarily by fine or confinement, breakers of the peace, and to determine cases of dispute between buyer and seller.

"Cities are a congeries of townships or parishes, each of which has its market-day, and is frequently called after the day of the week that the market is held. Such divisions, like our parishes, have their separate municipal institutions. The several trades have their separate guilds, with one or more Aldermen elect. These hold courts for the regulation of the affairs of their trade or caste, appoint assessors or arbitrators to settle their disputes, and punish by fine or expulsion from their body those who offend against the by-laws of the caste.

"In short, while these communities exist, self-government never ceases.

"Of all the members of the community none is so essential to the safety of the township as the parish watchman. His business is to be always in attendance on the Mayor or Magistrate, a duty which is imposed on every member of the same caste able to perform it.

"The duties of the village police as a body are to possess the most perfect *information*, not only as to what occurs in the parish itself, but to attend on all travellers, to put them in the way of obtaining all they may want, to guard his or their property night and day, and to be the guide to the next village when they quit. This occupation enables the policeman to protect the traveller, and, if attacked, to afford to the public authority every information on the subject. On the other hand, if the traveller has any bad intentions, the policeman can sometimes detect and detain the party on suspicion, and hand him over to the Magistrate; or at all events he can so accurately describe the person, that if he become an object of suspicion, the policeman can usually give important information that may lead to conviction and punishment.

"When the village watchmen have leisure, they go out to hunt or shoot, and become extremely expert in tracking the game. If the footmarks are lost by the animal crossing a road or footpath, and it becomes invisible to all ordinary eyes, the hunter watches the wave of the grass that has been passed over, and seldom misses the track till he regains the footmarks. As robbers and all the rural classes travel barefoot, the police watchman can tell at once one impression from another; but, to make sure, he notches on a stick the length and breadth of the impression, and having tracked one or more delinquents to his own boundary, waits while he sends one of his comrades to the next village, when he delivers over the length and breadth of the footmarks to the new police, whose duty it now becomes to carry the track through his boundary, and so on, till the

individual or gang, as it may be, is fairly hunted down. Cattle that stray or are driven off, are almost invariably recovered by this method.

"There is no police superior to the rural police of India. They are always honest and faithful to their townsmen, to whom they are bound by the strongest bonds of interest: inasmuch as they depend on them for a portion of their crops, and they know that the whole village is required either to trace delinquents out of their boundary, to deliver them up to justice if within it, or to make good, by communal assessment, the loss in case of robbery."

After explaining that the governments in Ceylon and in the territory of Travancore and Cochin, into which the Mahomedan conquests never extended, always limited their demands to one-tenth of the produce, our author proceeds thus:—

"Having described the municipality, and pointed out the proprietors of the land, it is as well to state that these are not necessarily the cultivators: on the contrary, they are the freeholders, who, for the most part, underlet the whole or parts of their lands to tenants, who in some respects may be considered as copyholders. They differ, however, from the copyhold tenants of England, inasmuch as they share their crops (after deduction of the tenth before mentioned) with their landlords, in consideration of which they are not liable to any taxes whatsoever, whether as revenue or in the shape of village taxes or other rates; and although they cannot alienate their copyholds, they are not liable to be ousted from their tenant right, which descends to their heirs on the terms of their permanent lease. When the founders of the village exceed one, or when one or more portions are alienated, and the commune consists

of several members, the affairs of the village are managed by a council or court of aldermen, each of whom represents the members of his own clan or family. It is this board which lets out annually to tenants at will such portion of the land as may have lapsed to the township in default of heirs, or by reason of absenteeism. These tenants pay no taxes, but contribute such portion of their crops as may be agreed on, and the produce is accounted for to the freeholders at the end of the year. In many cases the proceeds cover the village expenses, and in some even a surplus remains, which is divided among the freeholders. Thus it appears that the freehold community is alone liable to the Government land-tax under all well-regulated Native States. As every piece of land is included within the township or hamlet of a township, so is every town or city included within some pergana or county: and as every town has its mayor and registrar or clerk, holding hereditary lands and certain immunities, as representing the commune and the Government; so has every county its chief, or sheriff and record-keeper, holding lands free of tax, and receiving a commission, usually ten per cent. on the collections, which he is bound to realise and account for in detail. He is subordinate, however, to a stipendiary Government officer or collector of several perganas or counties; which constitute a district or collectorate. Under the British Government this officer is a European civil servant, acting as a chief magistrate over a population varying from six hundred thousand to a million of souls."

Here, then, we have all the standing ground which the most sanguine of wise reformers would seek to find — the framework of civil society, knitted and compacted together, having its foundations laid in the principle of self-government, and

demanding from the supreme power, whatever it may be, nothing more than protection and gradual development.

It is our manifest duty to accept the trust. We have assumed the part of the Mahomedan in India, let us not assume with it his bigotry and short-sightedness. If it be judged expedient still to try experiments, let us confine ourselves in making them to what are called the regulation provinces; and take over all the rest in the state to which the traditionary policy of the country has advanced them. Even the hereditary sheriffs and record-keepers of perganas we shall do wisely to retain; placing them, however, under the supervision of English magistrates; which magistrates may or may not, as is considered most expedient, act in the double capacity of collector and local judge.* Nor will any innovation be effected in the spirit of the native institutions, if you multiply these European functionaries till there be one in every pergana.

* From time immemorial the native collector, whether Teshildar or Zemindar, has been the sole judge in disputes arising out of such collections. In the beginning of our Asiatic supremacy we acted upon the same principle, with results more satisfactory in the main to the people, than have ensued from the separation of the magisterial from the fiscal authority.

The Hindoo, so long as you leave him free to conduct the common affairs of life after the manner of his fathers, has no disinclination, but the reverse, to have his more important causes, even if they involve questions of public taxation, heard and adjudicated upon by an Englishman. For to do our countrymen justice, the instances are rare in which they deliver wrong judgment of malice prepense. Deceived and misled they may sometimes be; but at least they are honest; and the people of the country are satisfied of this fact, even in cases where they dissent from the judgment which has been given.

Again, the laws of property and inheritance in India, like the same laws in every other country under the sun, are the results far more of immemorial usage than of positive enactments. They should be treated by us, however apparently irreconcileable with our notions of things, with unbounded respect; but our penal code ought to be neither that of the Koran nor that of the Shaster, but the law of England; unincumbered by the technicalities which in this country rob it of half its value. So also the tribunals which settle questions of debt, or bargain, or contract, whether one of the parties to the suit be a European, or both

happen to be natives, should be free to decide according to the merits of the case as it comes before them. The native of India expects and requires prompt justice. To make the redress of a grievance of which he complains turn upon the subtleties of our law or the technicalities of our courts is to mock him. He would rather suffer wrong, provided it were inflicted at once, than be baffled in seeking his rights by usages which to him are as absurd as they are unmeaning.

And here we must be permitted to dissent from the views of those who demand the entire abolition of what is called the Civil Service in India. It is quite possible that in spite of the introduction of the competitive system, appointments to that service may still be made as much from favouritism as from merit. And the promotion in any service which is regulated by strict observance of the rule of seniority, cannot be defended. To both evils, as far as they exist, let a remedy be applied by advancing the age of the candidate, or by rendering the preliminary examination more stringent, or by both arrangements; and by authorising, more fully than is done at present, the principle of selection on the part of the Supreme Government. But we must not forget that for the civil—not less than for

the military service of a country — other qualifications besides those of scholarship are required; and that the moral fitness of candidates can be secured only by rendering persons of acknowledged weight in society responsible for them. Nor will it be wise to overlook the fact, that India to be well governed must be governed for itself — that to qualify the ablest Europeans for Indian administration, some apprenticeship is necessary, and that such apprenticeship, to be really useful, must take place in early life when languages are learned with the greatest facility, and habits suitable to a trying climate, and the condition of a very peculiar society, most easily acquired. By all means, therefore, throw India open to European settlers, if they can be persuaded to face the climate. Let them engage in commerce, practise professions, purchase land subject to the common liabilities of land in the country, and establish colonies. But do not attempt to throw open to them, as a matter of right, places under Government, nor to select either from them exclusively, or from the members of the legal profession at home, judges and magistrates for the native population of India. The charge of superintending the judicial and fiscal affairs of a hundred and fifty millions of people, differing in language,

religion, and customs from their rulers, must, if we expect to govern a contented empire, be entrusted mainly to persons trained to that special duty. Our ideas of reform, therefore, in the civil administration of India itself, go no farther than this — that the powers of the Governor-General be for the present greatly enlarged; that he be allowed to select his councillors from the whole body of British subjects resident in the country; that native and municipal institutions, wherever they exist, be preserved; when sufficient traces of them can be discovered that they be restored; that the collection of the revenues be as much as possible conducted by Zeminadars and Teshildars, under the close and constant supervision of British functionaries. With respect to law, in the common acceptation of the term, let it be dispensed, wherever the village authorities fall short, by English judges and magistrates. The former should hold their circuits, try prisoners, and decide causes in the spirit but not according to the letter and form of the law of England, permitting the parties to plead in their own persons if they desire it, and to speak in the dialect with which they are acquainted. Their own judgments they should record in English, with vernacular translations attached to them.

The latter, viz. the magistrates, should be placed at convenient stations in every pergana, to receive appeals, if such be made, from the decisions of the head-men of villages—to exercise functions similar to those of the judge of a County Court at home—to punish for trivial offences when such are brought before them, and to commit for trial at the Assizes persons charged with crimes of a serious nature. Only such cases as, under the Mahomedan rule, were carried for decision to the courts of the Cadis and Mufftis, should come under this category. And these, in proportion as the police regained its efficiency, would become day by day more infrequent.

It will be seen that the plan suggested here differs little, if at all, in principle from the system of administration heretofore acted upon in British India. We venture to propound it not as a device perfect in itself, but as a scheme which is susceptible of steady though gradual enlargement. If half the governing classes in England were transported to India, and put in places of trust and authority there to-morrow, it would be impossible for England to govern India well except through the instrumentality of Indians themselves. Our object, therefore, ought to be to introduce, as the progress

of civilisation will permit, improvements into the native institutions, — to raise the character of the village schools; to add, as they are able to wield it, to the authority of the village mayors; to appoint to rural magistracies native gentlemen, when from their intelligence and acquaintance with the principles of law they appear to be qualified, and so to attach the people to our rule by making them the instruments for maintaining it. Generations may come and go before any very striking results will be seen to follow from such endeavours — for the only force which we should be justified in applying to the work is moral force. But difficult as it unquestionably is to revolutionise the opinions and tastes of nations, and especially of the nations of India, the task is surely not impossible. No people could be more attached to their own institutions than the Anglo Saxons. They resisted the changes which the Normans endeavoured to bring about, and resisted successfully. Yet Saxon earldoms and sheriffships, equally with Saxon guilds and corporations, took a strong colouring from the feudalism of the Normans, and became in consequence the social institutions under which we now live. So it may be, so it surely will be, long years hence in India, if her European rulers seek no

more than to infuse the spirit of their own laws and social usages into hers. The latter will probably retain their forms — why should we seek to change them?—but they will acquire such power of expansion as will enable them to fit in with every change in the constitution of society which circumstances and the progress of time may bring about.

Two more points remain to be considered, viz. religion, and the military defence of the country, and to these we do not consider it necessary to advert except very briefly.

With respect to the former, there cannot, we should think, be any difference of opinion among reflecting men. England is a Christian and a Protestant country. She must maintain her Christianity and her Protestantism wherever she establishes her dominion. She must give free scope in India as she does elsewhere, to the operations of Christian ministers and missionaries of all denominations, taking care that to the English residents in the country, military as well as civil, ample means of partaking in the ordinances of their respective churches are afforded. But beyond this she must not venture to go. She has no right to convert to nominal Christianity, either by fraud or violence, and we know that any interference on the part of Govern-

ment, or of officials under Government, with their religious opinions, will be regarded by the natives of India as an attempt at conversion. On the other hand, England's representatives in India will be greatly to blame, if for the future they pay such abject deference to caste prejudices as they have heretofore done. Caste is a social, far more than a religious institution, and as such it is our policy to treat it. We shall take the proper line in reference to it, if in all our public acts and arrangements we ignore its existence entirely. There is no occasion for Europeans to obtrude themselves uninvited into the domestic circles of Hindoos, or to outrage Hindoo prejudices when they encounter them in towns or villages. But there is as little call upon a Christian government to connect itself, even indirectly, with heathen rites, or to countenance practices which are at variance with the dictates of common morality and common humanity. Hence, however rash we may have been in abolishing suttee and infanticide, and authorising the marriage of widows by proclamation, such proclamation, once issued, can never be recalled. And for the same reason, viz. because we can no longer pretend to hold opinions which the natives themselves are perfectly aware that we disavow, Brah-

min, Chytria, and Pariar, when they come before us as suitors, or as applicants for employment, must equally come as men. They must be given clearly to understand that the supreme government recognises no distinctions between one man and another, and expects from all whom it takes into its pay and under the protection of its authority, implicit obedience to commands which are not in themselves unlawful. There will be some surprise exhibited at first, and perhaps a little outcry raised; but the government which is physically strong enough to put down an armed revolt like the present will be morally weak indeed if it yield to the murmurs of an interested minority. For the great bulk of the people, who are not high caste men, will soon learn to perceive that the innovation is all in their favour.

With regard to the military defence of the country, that, it is very evident, must be provided for on a principle different to a certain extent from any heretofore recognised. There can be no doubt, that for a while at least, we shall require in India a much larger force of Europeans than have at any previous period occupied the country. Instead of 50,000, probably from 80,000 to 100,000 British troops will not be too many to uphold our supre-

macy; and it seems to be admitted on all hands, that the regular cavalry as well as the artillery connected with the Indian army itself must for the future consist exclusively of Europeans. But 80,000 or even 100,000 men of European birth will not hold India if they stand alone. A native army must still be maintained, subordinate to this force, and the great question is, whence shall we draw recruits to supply this army, and how shall we employ it when embodied?

The recruits for our native army, which should consist entirely of infantry, must not for the future either be taken from one locality or chosen from among high caste families. The indigenous races, the Pariars, by whatever distinctive title recognised, as they now compose the village police, one of the most effective of the native institutions, so they will supply us with admirable infantry soldiers to any amount that may be required. To speak of them as unwarlike is to express an opinion which has no foundation in fact. From among these classes the corps were chiefly raised which did such excellent service under Clive and Coote. And the Madras Sappers and Miners, confessedly the most effective military body now in India, consist entirely of them. So far as bravery is con-

cerned, they are therefore quite on a par with either Brahmins or Rajpoots, and they are entirely free from the prejudices which often render both Brahmins and Rajpoots unmanageable. The Pariar will eat anything, drink anything, go wherever he is ordered by sea or by land; and being born in a station of life which excludes him from ever expecting more than a bare subsistence, he neither feels aggrieved by being commanded entirely by Europeans, nor dreams of aspiring to military rank himself. We have, moreover, the Seiks, the Patans, the Belooches, and the Burmese, all of them warlike races, from among whom to raise regiments. Employ these borderers to maintain order in the southern provinces while you hold Central India, Scinde, the Punjab, and the provinces beyond the Bay with regiments raised in the south, and you will have the same assurance against combination between the military and the people that the Romans had when they garrisoned Italy with Gaulish troops, and Gaul and Britain with cohorts drawn from Italy and Spain.

The army of India consisted, ere the late rebellion broke out, of about 50,000 European and 300,000 native troops. By raising our 50,000 Europeans to 100,000, we may safely dispense with

150,000 natives; more especially if we take care to restore the police of India to a state of efficiency, and avoid employing our regular troops in police duties. Telling off the whole into brigades, we shall thus have for the garrison duty of all India seventy-five brigades, each consisting of two European and one native regiment. There will then remain 50,000 Europeans, whom it will be wise to keep massed; 20,000 or 25,000 among the hills about Simla, the residue, in corps d'armée of not less than 10,000 strong, at the healthiest stations of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. An arrangement of this sort, as it will render the native army available for general service, so it must necessarily put a stop to that division of control which up to the present moment has kept the armies of the three presidencies distinct. In some respects, perhaps, the arrangement is to be regretted. Under the old system of recruiting, it could not have been acted upon without great danger to the State. But the danger ceases as soon as we fill up our ranks with men who have no caste prejudices to be jealous about, nor any common bond of union, apart from military discipline, to keep them together.

Observe that we do not recommend a headlong

adoption of the system throughout all India at the same time. The Madras army has remained faithful. It ought to continue a distinct army until by little and little high caste men, as they take their discharges, are replaced in all the regiments by low caste men. But the armies of Bengal and Bombay appear to be so thoroughly tainted, that the sooner we break up the latter, as the former has broken up itself, the better it will be for the peace of India.

Meanwhile, such arrangements ought to be made as shall secure for the future the possession of a sufficient number of European officers with native regiments. The class of native commissioned officers heretofore maintained will of course be suppressed at once. They were useless for good under the old system. They cannot be required, nor, indeed, can they be permitted under the new. But the suppression of this class will naturally involve a serious addition to the strength of European officers, which ought not in any instance to fall short of one captain and two subalterns for each company.

There will follow, and, indeed, there ought to follow, upon this, a more rigid severance than has ever heretofore been exercised between civil and military employment. Officers must no longer be

withdrawn from their corps to do the duty on reduced pay of collector and magistrate. The prizes of the profession in India, as in Europe, must be appointments to the Staff. And in order to qualify for Staff employment, officers should be required in India, as in England, to study and pass strict examinations in Staff schools. On this subject, however, the reader will find our opinions more fully enunciated in another place.

We cannot bring this supplemental essay to a close without hazarding one or two general observations. First. In any scheme of policy that may be proposed for India, it is absolutely necessary to provide that nothing be done which shall tend to lessen in the slightest degree the respect in which Europeans are now held by the natives. We are the dominant race, and must fence round our prestige of dominancy by every practicable measure, even if it touch the outer limits of injustice. For example, a European must never stand either as a criminal or a litigant before a native judge. He must be tried by Europeans only, though tried with all the solemnity which is exercised in trying a native.

Next, we must never forget that not the maintenance of our sovereignty alone, but the fulfilment

of the great purpose for which God's Providence has assigned it to us, will be far more effectually promoted or marred by the personal conduct of individuals than by the wisdom or folly of our institutions. In the personal conduct of individual Englishmen in India there has been, we are told, a marked improvement of late years. They have become more pure, more sober, more observant of the forms and precepts of their religion than they once were. It is well that the case should be so. But to progress in this direction there should be no limits either in regard to the point to be obtained or the rapidity with which men approach it. For in proportion as the natives of India see a race, nominally Christian, living and dying among them as Christianity requires men to do, they will become open to the arguments of the missionaries, and better disposed to exchange their own faith for one which is so obviously fruitful in moral excellence.

Finally, the questions of a free or restricted press, and of the right to choose his own advisers, from without as well as from within the body of servants sent by the Home Government to India, will be best left for decision by the Governor-General on the spot. We may be mistaken, but to us the co-existence of a free native press and a foreign

supremacy seems to be incompatible. The absolute freedom of the English press never ought, on the other hand, to be a fact beyond the range of dispute. But anything like parliamentary government, or the election of councillors of state by British residents, is quite out of the question. When India is ripe for parliamentary government; her parliament must consist of native Lords and Commons. We shall at once render ourselves ridiculous, and endanger our hold upon the allegiance of the natives, if we attempt to make laws for their guidance in European houses of representatives.

THE MÄDCHENSTEIN.*

A TRADITION OF THE SAXON SWEITZ.

CHAPTER I.

THERE are few districts in Europe — I might, perhaps, have said in the whole world — which more deserve, in every point of view, the notice of the imaginative traveller than that to which a distinguished German writer, still alive, has given the name of the Saxon Switzerland. In expressing myself thus, I do not refer, at least exclusively, to the peculiar nature of the scenery which is there to be found. That, to be sure, is remarkable enough — so remarkable, indeed, as to have no parallel in any other country which it has been my good fortune to visit. But even scenery, if it stand alone, seldom makes a very deep or a very lasting impression on the mind of him who has beheld it. Such, at least, are my own feelings in reference to

* From "Fraser's Magazine" for November 1838.

this point. What were the Tyrol itself, did not its bold and snow-clad mountains associate themselves with the memory of a thousand noble deeds? — the last and not the least touching of which throws a halo around the name of the peasant Hoffer. What were the Rhine, had it not been to a high-minded people, in all ages, their "own imperial river?" What were our own rugged hills of Scotland and Wales, could we forget that the feet of the gallant and the free have trodden them from age to age? And, finally, who would linger in fancy near the deep glens and precipitous crags of the Saxon Sweitz, had the eye alone taken an interest in them when they were actually present to it. It is not, therefore, because its pine forests wave deep and broad, and its rocks rise sheer, and bald, and abrupt, towards heaven — because its passes are dark and narrow, its corn-fields rich, and its river, the lordly Elbe, dark, and turbulent, and rapid, — these are not the circumstances that force me to speak of Saxon Switzerland as of a land which, once visited, can never be forgotten. Rich as Germany is in traditionary lore, there is probably no portion of it which more abounds with the tales of other days than this little corner. As I am going to repeat one of these tales, the nature of

which renders some knowledge of the whereabouts essential to a right understanding of facts, it will be necessary to attempt, what has never yet, as far as I know, been attempted successfully, — I mean the conveying by words, to the mind of the reader, something like a distinct notion of a spot of earth which he has not visited, and, it may be, never shall visit.

In the very heart of Saxon Switzerland there is a glen, through which the Kirnitsch pours its tiny waters — a tortuous, narrow, yet perfectly level pass — hemmed in on either hand by bold hills, all of them covered from their bases to their brows with pine-trees. At the bottom of this glen lies the town of Schandau, occupying a tongue of land that juts forward into the Elbe. Not far from its summit, and perhaps ten or twelve English miles distant, stands a romantic village, of which I have forgotten the name. These are the extreme points; for at or near the village the glen imperceptibly blends with the more open country, while the river effectually closes it in at the base. Between them, again, the arrangements of nature have been very little interfered with, except that three mills — the least offensive to the eye of taste of all pieces of mechanism — are erected along the

stream; each of them, too, at a point which, till he has seen the rest, the traveller is apt to exclaim that nothing could surpass it in beauty. Moreover, the Kirnitsch is spanned here and there by rustic bridges — mere planks, or layers of planks, thrown across its channel; while the meadows which sweep down to its banks, whether broad or narrow, are all trimmed and dressed, and kept in the nicest order. In every other respect, however, the valley of the Kirnitsch offers to the eye of the wanderer in the nineteenth century precisely the same features which it offered to those of the wanderer in the fifteenth. For the everlasting hills are bold and unbending as they were at the beginning; and busy as man's hand may have been from age to age in felling, and clearing, and transporting timber to a distance, the woods wave as wide, and their foliage is as dense and dark, as if no interference with their sovereignty had ever been attempted.

Here, then, in part, lies the scene of my story; which must, however, be occasionally shifted, so as to carry the reader back into the recesses of the forests that sweep away to the eastward of the glen. How shall I describe these? Imagine, if you can, the uppermost of the three mills — a

humble, yet neat structure — with its little garden in front of the miller's dwelling, and the stream chafing and roaring from its place of confinement on one of its flanks. Behind is a small meadow; to which succeeds a wooded hill, completely interposing itself between your curiosity and all that may lie beyond; for the hill in question is but a portion of one of those rocky walls which leave to the wayfarer no wider range of view than is afforded by some sweep of the vale — at the best, exceedingly narrow — and the space that intervenes between earth and heaven. You will observe, however, nearly opposite to a wicker-gate that opens from the garden-fence, the commencement of a footpath protruding itself, as it were, from the forest. Advance towards it, for it will lead you to the point with which I am endeavouring, I fear vainly, to make you familiar. Now, then, go on. The woods are closed darkly round you. Their shade is so dense that the sun's rays cannot reach you from above. Their depth is so great that you strain your eyeballs in vain, yet see no object that is distant from you a space of fifteen yards. Your road, moreover, leads continually upwards — now shooting ahead a little space, now twisting and turning as some rock or precipice intervenes,

barring, or threatening to bar, your further progress. There! you have won the hill-top at last— so gaze abroad. What see you? A huge cliff, an enormous mass of rock, standing out of this mountain-plain as if the hand of man had reared it, and lifting its grey head far above the giant pines that cluster, though loosely and gracefully, about its base. Forward still, I pray you; for that rock must we win ere the scene shall open out its terrific beauties to our ken. Look again! The rock is hollowed from beneath. You are gazing, not upon a solid mass, but on a mighty bridge, a bridge of a single arch — or, if the simile like you better, on the gate of a prodigious fortress; beneath the portals of which it seems as if he must needs pass who would penetrate into the forest ravine which it covers. Yet is he deceived who adopts this notion. There is an abyss between you and the rock, passable by a narrow mound. Cross that, and you stand upon a platform, arched over head, and abundantly capacious, but admitting of no further progress — for you are at the mid-height of the Khuhstall; and beneath you are seen, at a giddy distance, the highest tops of the pines, which, commencing in the bottom of the ravine, climb up as it were to salute, but fail to reach you. That,

however, is nothing. Around you on every side are objects, which you must be strangely constituted indeed if you can gaze upon, even in the bright sunshine of a summer's day, without a feeling of awe. Rocks are piled upon rocks, in the most extraordinary confusion. Sweeping forests are there—solitary cliffs uplifting their bald heads; and all begirt by an amphitheatre of hills, so rude, so wild, so unlike what you can have beheld in other quarters, that there requires some exercise of reason to repel the belief that chaos was not a thing of yesterday, and yourself the denizen of a new and unfinished world. It is charged upon the Germans, in this our fair land of England, that their imaginations are by far too irregular — that their fancy runs for ever into extravagance. No man will repeat the accusation who has once stood where you and I, gentle reader, are supposed to stand at this moment; for I defy the most cold-blooded to look over that wild scene without admitting that, if the Spirit of Evil has ever been allowed to play his pranks among men, this is precisely the place where he would set up his rest, and whither his votaries would come to seek his counsel or avert his anger.

Here, then, I would gladly pause, if I could, for

I well know from experience how wearisome the descriptions of mere scenery are; but I cannot. There are yet two more objects to which it is absolutely necessary that the reader's attention should be drawn; and he must bear with me while I state what they are, in terms as brief and as simple as I can find.

We have been standing on the platform of the Khuhstall, covered overhead by its natural arch, and gazing down upon one of the wildest scenes that ever opened out its rugged bosom to the eye of the stranger. Deep, deep it lies beneath us; yet is it not absolutely a basin. Nearly in the centre of that mighty amphitheatre there stands another lonely rock, a huge mass of grey sandstone, broad and solid, with here and there a rift in its face—feathered at its base, like the Khuhstall itself, with graceful pines, but at its summit lifted high above the reach of the pines' topmost branches. I know not to what it may be likened. Some ruined tower would be the aptest simile, had the Titans ever built such a stronghold, and time defaced it; but to compare it to a fabric reared by ordinary mortals were to wrong its proportions. Still some faint idea of the sort of thing may be formed, if the reader will call to mind the mightiest

and most colossal ruin which he has ever beheld; more especially if it shall chance to have stood in the heart of a forest, intersected here and there by broad vistas, or glades carpeted, one and all, with the richest sward. Moreover, let him bear in mind that this huge cliff stands alone in its glory. There are no hills, no perceptible rises and falls in the ground, within the distance of three English miles from it. It is the centre of a mighty circle, of which precipices of the most awful kind form the circumference; while the radii that go off from it are openings in the forest, too irregular and too capacious to be the work of any other architect than nature.

Here, then, is described one of the two objects of which I have spoken. Now for the second, to place which in a distinct point of view is not, I feel at the outset, a task so easy of accomplishment. Once more, then, I pray the reader to look down from his giddy height, and to observe a narrow path, which, springing off from the base of the Khuhstall, is soon lost amid the pine-woods beyond. Its course is, however, so straight, that he will take it up again without fail where it crosses the several glades, provided he carry his eye forward in a direct line from the point where

it may have first eluded him, till finally it disappears altogether just where the precipitous boundary commences. He who follows that path will find that it leads through a tangled forest, with brake and bower, and rock and ravine perpetually intervening, till, over the far-off ridge, it joins a broader way, formed for the purpose of facilitating the transport of fuel from the mountains to the river's edge. For the present, it is right that I conduct my stranger by this waggon-track, pointing out to him, as we pass, the more intricate path, by following which he would arrive at the summit of the Prebisch Thor. Well, then, we push on, the road sinking by degrees into a ravine, till we emerge from the shadow of the woods, to behold upon our left a rock, not less remarkable than that of the Khuhstall, arched like it in the centre, though with a wider span, and standing out in bold relief from a wall of cliffs, similar in their general character — I had well nigh said in all their features — to those which constitute the amphitheatre we have left behind. That rock is the Prebisch Thor, and it deserves more than a passing scrutiny. Nevertheless, we shall pass it by, in order that we may take up the course of a stream, which with a rapid current flows down the glen, and keeps our road on

its right bank. It is a fine pass, likewise; and, widening as we descend, carries us to the village of Hernnskretschen — a settlement in every respect rural. A small church, the rude figure of the patron saint, a bridge of a single arch spanning the river, a row of cottages stretching away to the bank of the Elbe — these, with four or five mills, where corn is ground and wood sawed, compose the third of those spots to which, in the course of my narrative, it will be necessary to make reference; but of which I am perfectly aware that no fitting idea can be formed till the reader shall have acquired information through the medium of his own senses. So much for description — at the best, how indequate to supply the place of actual observation — more especially when, as in the present instance, the scenes to be dealt with chance to be of a nature too stern, albeit surpassingly beautiful, even for the pencil to portray.

It was towards the close of a summer's day, at that eventful period in German history when the spark struck by Luther and Melancthon was beginning to light up the horizon of the whole religious world, that there arrived, on the left bank of the Elbe, immediately opposite to the town of Schandau, a solitary foot traveller. The age of the stranger

might comprise any given number of years between nineteen and three-and-twenty. His countenance was pale and thin, yet withal singularly beautiful. A lofty forehead, smooth and white as marble, agreed well in its character with the dark and deep-set blue eye that lay beneath it. A profusion of brown hair, breaking loose from the rim of his bonnet, hung over his shoulders, and waved with every breeze that blew. A pair of silken mustaches shading his upper lip, gave a tone of firmness to a mouth, which, thoughtful and grave as it doubtless was, might have otherwise misrepresented a disposition not naturally prone to sadness. Slight he was, and spare in his make, scarce reaching to the middle height, or, at all events, not passing beyond it — a defect which a trifling stoop, the consequence it might be of much study, had no tendency to ameliorate. Yet when he lifted himself up, which he occasionally did, as often as some object, either near at hand or far away, caught his attention, the perfect symmetry of his form became immediately perceptible. With respect, again, to his dress, it was of that picturesque and fanciful description which, down to a recent date, was wont to distinguish the class of society to which he belonged. A cloak of dark serge, suspended by a

cord from his neck, reached midway towards his knee. His vest and hosen were composed of similar materials, only the latter was tied up with pink points, and slashed with pink silk; while stockings and shoes, both of them black, gave an air of gravity to his whole bearing, such as it was then the fashion for the scholars at German universities to assume. Of arms, as well for defence as offence, he was entirely destitute; indeed, his only weapon was a staff, such as pedestrians use to aid their movements; and his baggage, a small wallet, or *valise*, which he bore in his left hand by a strap, and with which at pleasure he could suspend it at his back.

When the stranger reached the point on the river's edge at which it has been my privilege to introduce him to the reader's acquaintance, the sun was sending his rays obliquely from behind the hill of Kœnigstein; which, while they shed a mellow lustre over the peaks of Lilienstern, and caused the Grosser Winterberg, and the sweep of the river beneath, to lie in burnished gold, left nearer and humbler objects altogether in the shade. It might be either this circumstance, or the gathering in the south of a bank of dark clouds, which caused the youth to exhibit symptoms of impatience. Or

possibly his own thoughts troubled him; for, way-worn as the dusty state of his apparel proved him to be, he would not sit down to rest. On the contrary, as each shout failed to extort an answer from the opposite shore, and the ferry-boat still delayed to make its appearance, he paced backwards and forwards; now muttering in a low tone words of mysterious import, now loudly accusing the ferryman of inattention, and complaining of his own fate.

"Was there ever being so unfortunate — was there ever interruption to the communications of a great country so injudicious? Why did I not follow the other road? 'Twas longer, to be sure; but then no ferry lay in my path: and what mattered a mile or two more of travel in such an extremity? Is the old man deaf entirely, or dead, or drunk? Holloa, there, good Jacob! Bring thy boat over, for the love of Heaven, or I shall go mad." But shouts and remonstrances were alike unavailing. The ferryman either heard not, or paid no attention; and the young wayfarer continued to fret and traverse his narrow beat to no purpose.

Nearly an hour had been thus expended, and the last rays of the sun were withdrawn entirely

from the valley of the Elbe, when the student discovered, for the first time, very much to his own surprise, that he was not alone. Upon a stone, more than half screened by a projecting rock, and removed a few paces from the path at the water's edge, there crouched, rather than sat, the figure of a human being, so completely enveloped from top to toe in the folds of a dark brown cloak, that neither limb nor feature, the eyes only excepted, were visible. Earnestly, however, and keenly, were those eyes fixed upon the young man; insomuch that, when a sudden turn to the left brought his own unexpectedly in collision with them, he became conscious throughout his entire frame of a shock like that of electricity. But our student, albeit of a delicate frame, was no coward. He recovered himself in a moment; and feeling half disposed to resent what he conceived to be the impertinent curiosity of the gaze, he made a stride towards the gazer, and thus addressed him: —

"Methinks, friend, it were but good manners to make thy presence known, even if thy civility did not tend so far as to assist a neighbour in distress. The addition of thy voice to mine might have provoked a reply from the opposite shore; and thine own conscience would have told thee that such

employment were at least as Christian as that of a spy and an eavesdropper."

"Franz Brockhaus," replied the intruder, in a mild clear tone, "I am neither a spy nor an eavesdropper."

"Father Ambrose!" exclaimed Franz, starting at the sound of the voice, "is it thou? Why art thou here? What seekest thou?"

"I seek thee, my son," replied the stranger as he rose from his seat; and throwing back the mantle, displayed both a form and a face which, once seen, could never be forgotten. Tall he was —far surpassing the common height of man; thin, too, and meagre, as if worn down by abstinence and intense thought. A keen, dark eye shot from beneath brows, which their extreme tenuity, rather than the arrangements of nature, had rendered sharp and protruding. His cheeks were hollow, his nose aquiline, his complexion of the hue of parchment, and his beard, which reached down to his chest, was, like the few locks that hung about his temples, white as silver. His voice, as I have already stated, had about it, likewise, its own peculiar character. It was low, yet clear as a bell; while his enunciation, distinct, deliberate, and singularly correct, gave indication of a mind well

trained in the school of self-control, and braced up for the display, in case of need, of any conceivable degree of moral courage. Such a man, the most careless must have seen, was ready to play the martyr's part at a moment's notice. There might be no fire in his nature, no fierceness, no hardihood to contrive, no impetuous valour to carry through, some perilous enterprise as an aggressor. But patience and the power to endure, indomitable resolution and unwavering adherence to principle, — these characteristics were all set forth in every line of the old man's countenance, not less than in every intonation of his voice.

"I come to seek thee, my son," said he, grasping the outstretched hand which Franz hastened respectfully to offer, "to turn thee aside from the way in which thou goest, and to preserve thy precious life for higher and holier purposes. This is not a time to marry or give in marriage, nor yet to trouble men's minds with cares that belong to earth, when the Lord's harvest is every where ripe for the sickle, and labourers are wanting. Quit, then, this vain pursuit, relinquish this child's bauble, and gird on thine armour to fight the battle which the saints and martyrs fought in the olden time, and the true of heart are preparing to

fight again. Franz Brockhaus, go not to the dwelling of Gaspar Housman; thy appearance there can serve no good purpose. Thou art more than suspected of having cast in thy lot with the faithful, and the old man's anger is greatly kindled against thee. Yea, and why shouldst thou seek to interfere with his arrangements touching his daughter? There can be no fellowship between light and darkness; neither may the believer be yoked together with the unbeliever. Break thee loose, my son, from thy bondage, and follow where those are even now leading, of whom the world is indeed not worthy, but whose names shall endure for ever."

"But to-morrow is the day fixed for her marriage," answered Franz, mournfully, "and to her the connexion is as hateful as it is to me; ay, and her mother, too, abhors it. Oh, Father Ambrose, suffer me to go in mine own way this one time, and, let the consequences be what they may, I am thine and God's servant ever after!"

"Knowest thou not, Franz," answered the old man, sternly, "where it is written, 'He that putteth his hand to the plough, and looketh back, is not fit for the kingdom of heaven?' Was he accepted, who desired only that he might go and bid his friends farewell?"

"Oh, father!" cried the young man, bitterly, "thou knowest not, thou never couldst have known, the agony of a heart like mine. Contented I am to relinquish all the endearments of social life, even, if it were permitted that Louise should be my partner in them. But to see her the wife of another, and him, too, so unworthy of the prize: no, father — come what may, I cannot witness that spectacle and live. Suffer me, then, to go in mine own way this once, and I am thine and God's servant ever after."

"What my heart may have known, and endured, and overcome," answered Father Ambrose, gravely, "is known only to itself and its Maker. That it is now freed from the dross of earthly passions is His work, not mine. But for thee, Franz, believe me that, though I may seem to deal harshly by thee, I feel as a parent for a child — ay, and far more deeply. Thou shalt not go in thine own way even this once, for the Lord hath need of thee. Thy life must not be perilled for any of the unbelieving."

"She is no unbeliever!" exclaimed the student, eagerly: "Father, Louise is one of us."

"What sayest thou?" cried the old man, in a tone which blended together the sentiments of

surprise, anxiety, and something like disbelief. "Louise Housman one of us? Why didst thou not inform me of this long ago? Or doest thou deceive me, my son? or art thou thyself deceived? Nay, nay, Franz, thou errest greatly in deviating from the narrow path. Can the thorn bring forth the grape, or the fig spring from the thistle? Can the child of the persecutor turn again with those whom her father persecuteth? Nay, nay, this cannot be."

"I swear to thee, father," replied the student, "as the Lord liveth, I lie not! Behold, here is a letter which I received from her two days ago, by the hands of a trusty messenger. It containeth the first sure intimation which has been given even to me of that change in her and her mother's sentiments, to effect which I have so often laboured in private, and prayed secretly. Read it, father; and then say whether thou wilt permit this believer to be unlawfully yoked together with the unbeliever, or leave me free to work out her deliverance, the Lord working with me."

The old man took the letter. Twilight was gathering fast around them, yet his vision, at the age of threescore and fifteen, appeared to be as acute as ever it was; for he held it up towards

the western sky, and read aloud, without faltering: —

"Come to me, oh my brother! come quickly to save, or at least to counsel me. My father will hear of no further delay: he hath given his pledge to Carl that I shall be his bride on Friday; which if I fail to redeem, his curse and a cell in the convent await me. Come to me, oh my counsellor and friend! by the love which thou bearest me, by the confidence which I repose in thee, by the faith which thou hast taught me, come, oh, come quickly! "LOUISE."

"Go on, go on," cried Franz, hurriedly; "see, there is a postscript. It is in her mother's handwriting, and she speaks more plainly."

The old man did go on, and read thus: —

"I am in a state bordering on distraction. My daughter is miserable, my husband is unbending. Come and counsel me, too, dear nephew, and say how in such a strait it behoves me to act. Thy God is now our God. We have read his Word, and we renounce our errors. Am I justified in opposing the will of one whom I have sworn to obey? Or must I see my child forced to choose between a partner whom she abhors, and the profession of a faith which she doeth not hold? Come and be our guide, oh thou to whom it has been granted to open the eyes of the blind, and guide them into the way of truth!"

"The case is now altered," said the old man, calmly, as he folded up and returned to Franz the letter. "It is written, 'There shall be divisions in one house; the son shall rise up against

the father, and the daughter-in-law against the mother-in-law.' We may not controvert the arrangements which He hath made. The maiden shall be delivered from the snare that is around her. But, oh, Franz! save me, and save thyself, from the degradation, and the shame, and the misery, that would follow from any nearer connexion than now subsists between Louise and thyself. The time has come when persecutions shall rage fiercely; and to flee from city to city, and to hide in rocks and holes of the earth, be the lot of the faithful. Yea, it is the hour when each man must hold his life in his hand, and count all things but dung, in order that he may snatch were it but a single brand from the fire. Franz, thou art a chosen vessel; beware lest the weight of worldly cares rob thee of thy usefulness. The maiden shall be delivered; but swear to me that never — no, never at least till light shall have triumphed over darkness, and the evil days in which we live shall have passed away — wilt thou seek to draw the bond that links her fate with thine closer than it is. As a sister thou mayest continue to regard her; but more than this, swear to me, Franz, here in the presence of the Most High, that thou wilt not desire to go."

"Father," said Franz, in a low, but determined tone, "is this necessary?"

"Yea, in every respect necessary!" exclaimed the old man, worked up into an approach to passion as near as seemed compatible with his subdued and mortified, yet rugged nature. "Without it, I proceed not in this matter. Pity 'twere that one so gentle should perish; but perish twenty such, rather than that the church lose a champion so bold and so zealous as thou, unshackled by domestic ties, wilt yet become. Swear, then, that as a sister to thee she shall continue, till this tyranny be over-past, or I go not to the rescue."

"Father, I swear," replied Franz.

As he pronounced the words, a thunder-cloud, which had gathered slowly over them, burst with a crash which seemed to rend the hills to their foundations. The lightning flashed bright and blue, rendering every object for an instant distinctly visible; but no rain fell: neither was the flash or the sound repeated. The friends looked up and beheld the sky rapidly clear itself, and the stars shine forth with a splendour which even in the depth of winter could hardly be surpassed.

"Behold!" said the old man, solemnly, "thy

vow is heard, and registered in heaven. Let us be going."

Having uttered this, he took his cloak from his shoulders, and casting it over his young companion, desired him to wear it as a disguise. For himself, he added, there was no need of concealment; but as Franz's return to the country was unknown, it were advisable to keep the event secret as long as possible. He then shouted for the boat, — not as Franz had done, at the top of his voice, but in a tone which might well nigh be termed low, but so clear and distinct, that it was immediately answered.

"Why this concealment?" demanded Franz, while the punt was making its way leisurely towards them. "What will it avail at the mill?"

"Thou goest not to the mill to-night, my son," answered Father Ambrose. "Hie thee to my dwelling in the rock, and leave to me the task of deferring, if we may not at once remove, the evil which thou dreadest. Thy presence would but mar the project; for, as I said before, thou art more than suspected."

"Be it so, father," replied Franz; "into thy hands I commit both soul and body."

"And into God's," added the other, as the boat reached the strand.

They then stepped on board, —Father Ambrose arrayed in his ordinary garb, the brown coarse robe and rosary of an anchorite,—Franz Brockhaus muffled up in the cloak, and completely disguised by it. The ferryman besought the hermit's blessing, which was given, but said nothing more; on the contrary, he pushed off, and, having taken them across in profound silence, he landed them on the quay, without so much as asking a single question, or hazarding a single observation.

CHAPTER. II.

THE scene is shifted, and my reader is introduced into the interior of an apartment, beside an open lattice, in which two females are sitting. One of the two is very young, very fair, very fragile; with a pale cheek into which the vermilion rarely comes, except when exercise or excitement may have called it up. Her hair is of the clearest and glossiest brown; her eyes blue, soft, and gentle, — sunny in their glances, even when those glances are sad, and overshadowed by brows of the nicest and most perfect pencilling. The other, though past

the morning of life, has not lost the traces of much former beauty; for nature has given to her that species of visible charms over which time itself exercises no unkindly influence. There are in every line of her countenance, and, above all, in her dark blue eye, marks of the most confiding, and generous, and womanly feeling. Anxiety has, indeed, for the present, deepened that expression into melancholy, so that the glance which from time to time she turns upon her companion is very sorrowful; yet her sorrow itself, as it appears to take its rise from considerations more elevated than appertain to things of earth, so is it restrained and chastened, doubtless, by the reflection that our very trials come upon us for good. Such, at least, are the ideas called forth by a contemplation of the respective attitudes and bearings of those two persons. The younger is restless; her cheek alternately flushes, and grows pale; her little hands are now clasped together over her bosom, now dropped, in manifest despondency, upon her lap; while the elder watches every movement with a gaze so tender, so touching, so affectionate, as to announce at once the tie that links them together, and the perfect disinterestedness of love which binds her heart to that of her daughter.

"Oh mother, mother!" the girl at length exclaimed, after a long and anxious look towards the rustic bridge, which, crossing the Kirnitsch, connects the path beyond with the open meadow in which the miller's dwelling is planted, "I see him not. The night is coming fast, and the shadows are deepening in the glen: he will not come now, and I am utterly deserted!"

"Not utterly, mine own Louise," replied the mother, kissing her daughter's cheek; "there is One above who never deserts those that put their trust in Him. Look thou to that Source for succour in thine hour of need, and it will not be refused thee."

"Have I not done so ever — ever — at least since Franz taught us how to worship Him aright; but now am I not forsaken?"

"Not yet, not now, nor wilt thou ever be. Call back the energies of thy failing faith, and we will pray for His guidance and support, of which, in truth, we stand sorely in need, and without which all mortal aid were profitless."

They knelt down as this was said, and poured out together an entreaty for protection, so deep, so fervent, so earnest, that the very act brought with it its own reward, by lighting up the flame of

hope in their bosoms. Moreover, the amen was still upon their lips, when the same burst of thunder which had registered, as it were, Franz's vow, echoed through the glen, the minutest object in which became for an instant visible in the brightness of the flash that immediately preceded it.

"Hark! God has heard our prayer!" exclaimed Louise, springing to her feet with the air of one inspired. "There is salvation for us yet, and He in whom we repose our trust will raise up for us a deliverer."

"May God grant it, my child!" replied her mother, rising also. "And now, I pray thee, loose not thy hold upon that firm assurance; for thy father's step is already at the door, and a severe trial, it may be, awaits thee."

The elder of the two females had spoken the truth. Through the thickening gloom, two figures were seen to pass the bridge, which her quick and anxious eye immediately recognised to be the miller, and his friend, Carl, the forester, — the latter the affianced husband of one to whom death had no terrors, in comparison with the fate to which a father's will had doomed her.

"I will not stay to receive him now," cried Louise, shrinking in dismay from the open casement. "No

human being has a right to exact this sacrifice from me. I will go to my chamber, and do thou, oh, my mother, say that I am sick, as indeed, I am — sick, sick at heart — even unto death!"

"Go, then, my child," replied her mother, in a mournful tone! "go and hide thee where thou canst, and I will use my best efforts to shield thee, at least, from this outrage; though even in this I may be powerless, as in other things."

There was no time for further conference, for the tread of heavy feet was already in the porch; and Louise had barely time to escape out of one door from the apartment, when her father and the forester entered by the other. The former was the first to speak.

"What! all in the dark, dame! moping, moping, as usual? Nay, nay, fetch us a light, and pray thee disperse the gloom. We will be merry for an hour or two, at all events. It becomes us to be merry on the eve of our daughter's wedding."

His wife, without speaking, proceeded to comply with his wishes, and her silence at once mortified and chafed him.

"Look you, Carl," said he, addressing himself to the forester, "thou must not regard these fits of

vapours at such a moment. I can tell thee, from experience, that women are never so lachrymose as just before they enter into the engagement which is to dry up their tears for ever. Hang it! a sighing bride makes a merry wife, you know: and if the bride's mother sigh too, why then there will be the more fun after the priest shall have given you his blessing. Never mind them, neighbour; 'twill be quite a different affair by this time to-morrow."

The forester answered only with a laugh, which sounded as if it were forced; upon which the miller resumed—

"Credit me, Carl, all is as you and I could wish it to be. The girl is very young, and very shy; and the anticipations of what the morrow may bring forth alarm her. But ere a week passes by, you will find her as docile as you could desire; and her mother just as much satisfied with the match as I am. Prithee, dismiss these foolish fantasies from thy brain, and be a man again, as thou usedst to be when first thou and I talked upon this subject."

"But she has an insuperable dislike to me, Gaspar," said the forester; "and it is no use for

you to deny it. Can I not see how she avoids me; and, even now, where is she?"

The two friends were alone all this while, and the apartment was profoundly dark; for Madam Housman, having gone forth to procure a lamp, had not yet returned. The miller, therefore, strove to deal with this question by treating it as a subject for drollery; but Carl fell not into his humour.

"Nay, nay, Gaspar Housman," said he, sternly, "this is not a time for raillery. I tell thee thy daughter loves me not; and, fair as she is, I would scarce thank thee for a hand which brought not a heart along with it."

"Thou wouldst, then, give her up to Franz, wouldst thou?" demanded the miller, with a sneer. "Carl, the forester, is content to be thwarted in his wishes by a poor student of Leipsig, eh!"

"The Leipsig student is thine own nephew, friend Gaspar," replied the forester; "but were he the nephew of the elector himself, he should not live to boast that he had thwarted me in aught."

"Nay, nay, do the young man no harm," answered the miller. "I believe, indeed, that he has been stealing, like a snake, between thee and the accomplishment of thy wishes; and, by the Virgin, my suspicions are strong, that, having himself im-

bibed the cursed heresy of the Hussites, he has striven to poison the minds of my wife and daughter with his sophistries. Yet I would not have thee do the young man wrong. In spite of his gross ingratitude, I cannot forget that he was once very dear to me; albeit, not one drop of my blood flows in his veins; so, then, friend forester, thou art mistaken."

"Blistered be the tongue that speaks his name!" cried the forester, in a rage. "I hate him so cordially, that, rather than spare his feelings in any way, I would accept thy daughter's hand, didst thou thrust it into mine with a gauntlet of iron. But where is she? whither hath this pretty bride of mine betaken herself?"

"That we shall ascertain when my old woman fetches her light," replied the miller: "and methinks she takes her own time in doing so."

Just at this moment the flame of a lamp streamed through from the passage beyond, and Madam Housman entered with the lamp itself in her hand.

"Where is Louise?" demanded Gaspar, with a tone of forced indifference.

"She is ill, very ill, and gone to bed."

"She is not ill," replied the miller, fiercely.

"This is not a time for illness. Tell her she is wanted; that I want her, and she must come."

"I am sure that our kind neighbour here would not do such violence to Louise's feelings as drag her from a sick bed, either now or at any other season," answered Madam Housman, mildly.

"Our kind neighbour has no voice in the matter, woman," replied Gaspar, more and more inflamed with anger. "Our kind neighbour may deal with Louise as he chooses, after the priest shall have made over my authority to him in due form; but for the present she is my child, and as such is bound to obey me. I tell thee to go and fetch her, or, by St. John of Jerusalem, I will fetch her myself, and then 'twill be the worse for her."

"Hast thou not one word to say in this case, Carl?" demanded the mother, as she turned a half-imploring, half-reproachful glance upon the suitor. "Louise is ill; is it thy pleasure too that she be brought forth from her sick chamber?"

The person to whom this appeal was directed, though not absolutely savage in his demeanour, did not present the external bearing of one over whom the sentiments of generosity and disinterestedness were wont to exercise a control. His broad and stalwart frame, encased in a sort of livery or

uniform — a green frock and hosen, with untanned boots that reached to the calf of the leg — was, indeed, well calculated to strike dismay into the bosom of the innovator on the forest laws; for there were in his ample chest and enormous feet and hands marked indications of more than an ordinary share of bodily strength. But, then, his countenance; it might speak of courage, but it spoke also of ferocity; while the low forehead, the twinkling eye, and, still more, the mouth, with its thick lips and most repulsive smile, — all bore testimony to the influence of strong animal passions, alike unsoftened and undignified by the smallest admixture of mind or sentiment. No wonder that a girl so gentle, and for her age and station in life so refined, as Louise, should look upon him with an eye of absolute loathing; or that the command from her father to receive him as her future husband should have sounded in her ear more dissonantly than a death-knell. Still, in counting upon his forbearance on the present occasion, it seemed as if Madam Housman had done but justice to his heart. He answered her appeal by begging that Louise might not be disturbed; and then, seating himself beside the window, endeavoured to throw into his manner as much of

lightness as was compatible with it. But the miller's good humour was not to be restored. He called for beer, and drank it; he ordered schnaps, and swallowed several large mouthfuls, each of which served but to inflame the more his ungovernable anger.

"Look ye, dame," exclaimed he at last; "this illness may serve your purpose for to-night; but to-morrow she shall go to church — ay, if she be carried thither in a litter. What! are these the lessons that Franz has taught you? Ay, ay, I might have seen through it all. It was not for the sake of my society, no, nor for yours, mother, that the scorpion came so often to the mill, and lingered so long among us. Fool that I was not to discover it long ago! And your rosary, dame, where is that, too; and Saint Agatha? I have not seen her at the head of the bed these two months past. Hast become a Hussite into the bargain?"

"Friend Gaspar, moderate thine anger," whispered Carl. "Madam Housman is no Hussite, neither is Louise; and as to Franz, let him adopt what opinions he may: his views of such matters can never have weight either in your family or in mine. But what will Father Ambrose say to this heresy of one whom he used to favour so highly?"

"Would to God Father Ambrose were here!" cried Gaspar, becoming all at once more calm and collected. "If ever there lived a saint upon earth, Father Ambrose is one; and as he has all along been your friend, Carl, as well as Franz's, who knows but that his counsel might avail us somewhat in this our provoking perplexity? Father Ambrose is a holy man, and brings a blessing in his train wherever he may go."

"Father Ambrose may be all that you describe," answered Carl, sneeringly; "but, for my part, I have no great opinion of your anchorites. What good to man or glory to God can arise from his residence, for example, on that rock; or from all the austerities which he inflicts, or is said to inflict, upon himself?"

"A truce to idle talking, Carl," answered the miller, growing every moment more grave in his deportment. "Father Ambrose is no fit subject on whom to crack jokes, as thou wouldst confess, were his history as familiar to thee as it is to me."

"I would gladly hear it, good neighbour," answered Carl, filling his glass.

"Nay, I cannot enter into details, — for these, probably, are known only to God and himself; but

the outlines of the story, as told to me long, long ago, by one now no more, who knew the anchorite well, and in joy and sorrow served him faithfully, are these. Father Ambrose is a noble of the highest rank; where born I was not informed, but in some land far distant from this our Saxony. His wealth, too, was commensurate with his station; and he had earned a proud name in war. Of his personal advantages no mention need be made in the presence of any one that has ever seen him. Such a wreck could not have been otherwise in its pride of might than magnificent. Carl, Father Ambrose loved—where he ought not to have done. 'Twas a fierce and uncontrollable passion; and it led to broken vows, to sacrilege, to misery, to madness, and to death. There is blood upon the old man's hand—the blood of his near kindred; and the bones of the lady are immured in the dreary niche which formed her living tomb. What brain could bear up against such shocks, yet retain its self-possession? Reason forsook him, and he continued as one possessed, till the Virgin appeared to him, and said, that she whom his devotion had tempted to her sin and her ruin was happy in heaven. Nay, it is not quite certain whether it were the Virgin that spake, or the unhappy lady

herself; but the result was, that his senses returned, and that he devoted himself to a life of penitence and seclusion, such as for well nigh fifty years he has spent in this wilderness. His lordly possessions have all been made over to charitable purposes; a thousand masses yearly are said for the repose of the departed soul; and a hundred paupers are daily fed at a table which his bounty has set forth. So at least said my informant, while at the same time he spoke to me of the hermit's austere life; of his hair shirt; of his pulse and water; and his couch of roughly-hewn branches—too short to permit his lying upon it at length, and abandoned four times every night, that beads may be told, and the penitential service gone through. Is it surprising that such a man should earn a large share of Heaven's favour? I tell thee, Carl, that I myself have known the paralytic cured at his intercession. Over the devils he exercises supreme control; and thou thyself canst testify, that even the outlaws and bandits that used to haunt the forest have grown tame and peaceable at his bidding. So, prithee, never sneer or speak lightly when Father Ambrose forms the topic of thy converse. I would that he were here; for, seeing that he has all along favoured thy suit, and possesses

great influence with both mother and daughter, methinks that his counsel might have weight in regulating the girl's wishes, as I am sure his prayers would avail to restore her health."

"If such would be the certain result of his visit," replied Carl, "I am sure that I should wish him here as heartily as you do; but I repeat, that I have my doubts of that man. It is true that you have known him longer and more intimately; still, when I see him making friends of the outlaws, and moulding them to his own purposes, so that I am threatened, for lack of occupation, with a removal from my office, truly, friend Gaspar, you must excuse me if I suspect that he is not altogether such as you imagine. Besides, the very people in the town are all changed since he took to visiting the place so frequently. The priest complains that the wakes and fairs are deserted; and as to processions, nobody thinks of attending them now, except the vergers and beadles."

"Well, well, friend Carl," was the reply; "I have heard all this before; yet I am well assured that Father Ambrose has more influence both with the Virgin and St. John than all the priests, ay, and bishops too, in the electorate. Therefore is he ever a welcome guest at the mill; and right glad

should I be were he to make his appearance here this moment."

The words had scarce passed from the miller's lips, when the tread of a solitary passenger sounded beneath the window-sill, and in a few seconds a rap struck upon the door. The command to enter was obeyed, and Father Ambrose himself, arrayed as I have described in the previous chapter, stood upon the threshold of the chamber. His salutation was brief: "Peace be to this house!" and the welcome offered to him by both host and hostess at once kind and profoundly respectful; but he refused to be seated.

"Gaspar Housman," said he, "I have somewhat to say to thee alone."

The miller instantly took the lamp, and, conducting the anchorite into a separate chamber, left his wife and future son-in-law to amuse themselves as they best might, by gazing abroad upon the moonlight. He was absent nearly half-an-hour, and when he returned he came an altered man. His eye had lost its fever; the flush on his cheek was gone; and his temper, previously so irritable, and even austere, seemed gentle as that of an infant. But Father Ambrose was not with him.

"Carl Forester," said he, in a low tone, "my

daughter is indeed sick with a very serious malady. The wedding may not take place to-morrow. I pray thee pardon me in this thing, but it is irremediable. Hie thee, therefore, to the town, and warn both minstrels and bridesmaids that the ceremony is deferred. Give this purse, also, to the priest, and beseech him to offer masses for a mind that is sore diseased; for without his prayers and those of the church greater evil may yet befall. I commend thee to the keeping of all the saints; and now, good night."

"What means this?" exclaimed the forester, as he sprang to his feet. "What change has come over thy dreams now, friend Gaspar? Are such the results of a visit from Father Ambrose? By heavens, I will not endure it! Louise is not ill; thou saidst so thyself but a moment ago; and mine she shall be on the morrow, or——"

"Carl," replied the miller, with marked solemnity, "thou knowest that to see Louise thy wife is the one solitary object for which I have lived these six months back. Give me credit for a firmness that is not easily shaken; trust me for a resolution which can never be overcome. I speak not of withdrawing my pledge; I ask but a brief delay ere it be redeemed; and it is for

thy sake, not less than for my own, that I do so. Depart in peace, and execute my wishes. In seven days' time, at the furthest, thou shalt hear further of this matter."

There was an earnestness in the miller's appeal which was not without its effect, even on the coarse and dogged nature of the man to whom it was addressed. He stifled the rage which could not be entirely overcome, and even wrung the hand of Gaspar Housman when they parted; but the squeeze resembled more the grasp which a foeman interchanges with his enemy, than the greeting of friends.

"I obey thee, Father Gaspar," said he; "but, mark me well. Eyes will be upon thee and thine when thou least suspectest it. Not a word shall be spoken within or without thy dwelling that shall not be overheard; and if aught of foul play be intended, thou canst guess the rest. Carl Forester never sustained wrong without avenging it,—never uttered a threat that was not sooner or latter accomplished."

So saying, the forester hurried out of the house, of which the inmates were left to their own reflections.

CHAP. III.

MIDNIGHT is close at hand, and Franz Brockhaus sits alone in a small arched chamber that is hewn out of the solid rock. To reach that giddy height, he has threaded the mazes of the Khuhstall forest, and clambered up a rude and steep ladder, which, reared from the extremity of a fissure, conducts Father Ambrose to and fro, alternately abroad and back to his dwelling on the bald grey hill alluded to in a previous chapter. A small lamp, suspended by an iron chain from the ceiling, renders obscurely visible each object within the compass of that narrow vault. There is a rough deal table, an altar cut in the stone, a crucifix, a skull, an hour-glass, a couch (if such it may be termed) composed of untrimmed branches of oak, a rosary, and a pitcher of water. A book of devotions lies upon the altar, fastened with silver clasps; while a large Hebrew Bible, in vellum binding, rests on the log which for fifty years has served Father Ambrose as a pillow. There, then, sits Franz Brockhaus, gazing forth from time to time across the wilderness far, far beneath him; over which the moon sheds her silver light, unobscured even by a gossamer cloud.

"What have I done?" exclaimed he, at length, after a long and anxious silence. "Why took I the oath? Devoted as I am to the service of my master, and ready, the Lord knoweth, to die for the truth, why oppress my soul with this additional bondage, which neither mine nor the maiden's situation rendered necessary? Is it not written, 'Swear not at all'? Yea, and have I ever spoken to her otherwise than as to a sister? Have I ever thought of her except as a friend? As a sister and a friend? — ah! no, no, no! A sister standeth not between a man and his Maker; a friend dwelleth not all day long in a friend's memory. Hath the old man seen further into the state of our souls than our own eyes could penetrate? What said he? and how runs the vow? 'Swear that she shall never be to thee more than she is at this moment, till the tyranny of these evil times be overpast.' Yea, it ran even thus, and its meaning is — I cannot tell what. I am bewildered; I am lost in uncertainty. Would that the old man were come, that so we might hold communion together; and my mind be set at rest touching the events of the morrow."

Thus mused aloud the Leipzig student, as he sat on the anchorite's couch, and looked through the

aperture that served for a door to the cell, across glade and hollow, towards the precipices of the Lesser Winterberg. His pale face he turned up occasionally towards the heavens; not despairingly, for his faith was strong; nor yet with cheeks flushed, or brow overshadowed, as is apt to be the case when any violent passion has gained the mastery over us; yet there was a restlessness in his eye, which spoke of a spirit by no means at ease with itself, and quick and prompt was his recognition of the form which at length emerged from beneath a thicket, and made for the fissure.

"He comes at last," exclaimed the young man; "my prayer has been heard."

"God have thee in his keeping, my son!" said Father Ambrose, solemnly, as he gained a little cell; "God have thee in his keeping, now and for ever!"

"Amen, father," replied Franz. "Hath thy journey sped well?"

"Even as we could desire," answered the anchorite; "there will be no wedding to-morrow, nor any talk of such a procedure for some days to come."

"Now, the Lord be praised!" replied Franz. "But how didst thou manage this matter?"

"The case was desperate, Franz; and the remedy must needs be desperate also. I have denounced Louise as one whom there is reason to suspect of heresy."

"What!" cried Franz, springing to his feet, "and given her up to persecution. Father Ambrose, I did not expect this at thy hands."

"Have patience, my son, and believe that there are cases in which that which seemeth harsh to the interested and the partial is merciful in itself. Naught hath been done which it was possible to leave undone. Not yet hath the denunciation gone further than to the private ear of Gaspar, whose love for Louise, albeit roughly shown, is still that of a parent for his child. Mine was a visit of professed kindness; and I have consented to the unhappy man's entreaty, to conceal the charge a space of seven days, during which the maiden shall come to me, that we may converse together on the state of her opinions. Meanwhile, rest thou here to-night; for on the morrow it is necessary that thou betake thee to thy mother's dwelling, there to abide till intelligence reach thee that the Lord hath need of thee. For the hour is near—ay, it is close at hand—when open testimony must be borne against the abominations of the land, and many

hearts are prepared to receive the good seed, as soon as the hand shall be stretched forth to scatter it abroad. Hie thee hence, then, betimes in the morning, to the faithful of whom thou wottest in Hernnskretschen, and give them timely notice, so that he that hath not a sword may sell his garment and buy one."

"I am not, then, to see her, my father?" demanded Franz, mournfully.

"Thou hast sworn, my son, that thou shalt hold with the maiden no further communication till these evil times shall have passed away. I cannot release thee from this vow, for it is registered in heaven, and may in nowise be broken."

"Nay, father, I swore only that she should not be to me more than she has heretofore been: I said not that we should hold no further communication."

"Franz Brockhaus," replied the old man, laying his hand solemnly on the student's shoulder, "beware how thou tamperest with an oath. It is no more possible for thee to meet Louise again, and to depart from her as thou art at this moment, than it is in my power to call back the years that have rolled over my head and left me such as thou beholdest. The terms of thy vow may be as thou

describest them, but have a care: no mortal ever yet presumed to approach the extreme verge of honour or of duty, who did not live to mourn that he had overpassed it."

"Father, this is too much," replied the student. "Into thy hands I committed myself, as far only as was consistent with the right of self-regulation which belongs to every freeman; and the pledge thus given I seek not to withdraw. But thou exactest too much from me now. I must and will see Louise again, be the consequences what they may!"

"Thou lovest the maiden with more than a brother's love," said the old man, mournfully.

"And what if I do?" was the reply. "Is there aught in this which can convict me of sin? If she be the best and fairest of God's creatures, may I not love her? But it is not so, father. She is to me a sister and a friend, and so she shall continue — till — these — evil — times — be — overpast."

"Aught that can convict thee of sin, my son?" replied the hermit, while his eye glistened and his cheek lost for a moment its deadly pallor. "Far, far from it. Beautiful is love in its first impulses, beautiful and pure, so unearthly, so devoid of selfishness, so much akin to the feelings of angels

and of God himself, that to speak of it as sinful were to utter blasphemy against Him whose goodness is over all his works! Beautiful is love in its first impulses. But go not thou beyond them. One step further, Franz Brockhaus, and there is misery and shame, there is remorse and self-upbraiding, and worse — oh! worse a thousandfold than all! — there is the consciousness that suffering has fallen with accumulated violence, where least it ought, and least we desired it, to fall. All this, and more, must be the portion of him who yields himself unwisely to the guidance of a passion that accords not with the high destiny which the Lord hath appointed him to fulfil. Look at me, Franz, and judge whether I speak the truth. Behold the wreck of what was once a man — worn down with humiliation and bitter agony, — driven in youth itself, from country and kindred — mine active duties neglected — my part not played out where Providence had cast it — a solitary in this howling wilderness—useless for many years, ay, worse than useless — till the light broke in, at last, upon my darkness, and, at the eleventh hour, the vineyard gate was opened. How came I hither. Take heed, then, lest, in this the eventful hour of thy career, thou, too, be turned aside from the path which the

finger of Heaven, not mine, hath pointed out, and which thou hast received thy commission to follow. With sin I charge thee not; but, for my sake, for thine own sake, for the sake of the great cause to which thou art devoted, read thou thine oath as I have read it; and hie thee to thy mother's dwelling, there to abide till the appointed time come, and thou receive thy summons. Wilt thou obey me even in this, oh! my son, cruel as the wrench may be to thy natural weaknesses and feelings?"

"Father, I will obey," replied the young man, overawed by the energy of the anchorite's manner, and resolute, at least for the moment, to adhere to the determination. "I depart forthwith; and, oh! let thy prayers ascend for me unceasingly, that I may have strength in this terrible struggle to hold myself upright, so that neither the frailty of the flesh, nor the waywardness of the human spirit, lead me into a forgetfulness of my duty. Father, thy blessing, and I hie me to my home."

"My blessing and my prayers are ever thine," replied the old man, as he laid his hand solemnly on the student's head. But he made no effort to detain him; on the contrary, he smiled when the latter looked up from the ladder, as if seeking even then to be accosted. And the student springing

down, the cell in the rock was left to the occupation of its lonely owner.

"He is gone, and my spirit goeth with him," said Father Ambrose, as he watched the form of Franz Brockhaus disappear in the depths of the forest. "Oh, highly favoured youth, to have received, in the morning of thy days, a knowledge of the truth, with the power and the will to spread it wide around thee! Bright and glorious is thy destiny! Beset it may be with numerous difficulties for a season, but in the end how fertile of honour and of happiness! In thee, mine eyes behold God's chosen instrument, lifted above the feelings and the passions of the flesh, unencumbered by worldly cares, unshackled by worldly trammels, the preacher of righteousness in a land of sin, the champion of the Gospel, whose word had ceased to be heard. And it is from *me* that thou hast received thine impulse. Ay, here then, at last, my soul hath found a green spot on which to repose. *I* have given thee to Heaven; and for this, Heaven will pardon my sin, though it be great. But is all this certain? Yea, verily, it is certain. What though the struggle of human weakness with spiritual strength be yet in progress, the strength that cometh from on high shall prevail. He hath sworn, and will not deviate

from his vow, let the immediate sacrifice be what it may. Aha! sacrifice, said I? a sacrifice now — now, in their altered circumstances, when the maiden's faith is as our faith, and her soul is knitted to his by bonds more delicate than those that belong to earth? Am I justified in exacting such a price? While yet she lay in the depths of corruption, to hinder their union was my duty; for I had trained him up to one end, and the love that existed between them stood opposed to it. Therefore have I encouraged her father to press the match with Carl, brutal though he be. But now — yea, even now — Franz must yield to no human weakness. Free of soul, he shall go forth to the battle, which already cometh up with the breeze, for all his energies will be needed to carry him through triumphantly. And the girl, what is to become of her? For seven days she is to be at my disposal. There is time enough in six days; and it shall be done. My sister, my dear, dear sister, will afford her an asylum; and then, when the evil days are gone——. Well, well, man seeth but a brief space before him, and the issues are in the hand of Heaven. Therefore bend I my knee and pray that over the fearful past the pall of oblivion may be thrown, and that the future may redound

to His glory, in the well-being of my fellow-creatures."

The old man knelt before the altar, and bowed himself devoutly to the crucifix; but he prayed only with his mind. His lips moved not at all, yet the lamp grew pale in the growing light of the morning, ere he rose from his knees, and lay down upon his couch.

CHAPTER IV.

Two days had elapsed since the occurrence of the events described in the preceding chapter; and the night was closing on the evening of the third, when Franz Brockhaus quitted his seat in the garret at Hernnskretschen, which served him as a chamber, and a study, and threw his mantle over his shoulder. He turned towards the door, as if to quit the apartment, when suddenly his father's sword, which hung upon a peg in the wall, attracted his attention, and he took it down.

"The soldier's hand hath wielded thee in a cause that was not holy," said he, addressing the weapon, "why, then, should I hesitate to gird thee on? Come thou to my side. He that goeth forth in defiance

of his plighted troth, had best go armed; for where the conscience is clouded, dangers seem ever present, even in situations less perilous by far than mine."

So saying, the young man drew the belt around his waist, and descended the stairs. But he did not pass forth unobserved: his mother met him with extended arms; and he leaned upon her shoulder.

"What seekest thou abroad at this hour, my son? The faithful hold no meeting to-night: whither goest thou?"

"Do not ask me, my mother," replied Franz. "I have business in hand to-night which concerns myself alone; yet it is important business too, and may not be impeded. I pray thee, let me go, for the time wears apace."

"Thou hast been restless and uneasy these two days, Franz; more restless and uneasy than is thy wont. Do not conceal the cause of this from thy mother."

"I have nothing to disclose, mother; nothing to hide. Let me pass, and I will return to thee ere long."

She did let him pass. The widow gazed in her son's face with a full eye, till the tear, breaking

loose, rolled over her cheek. He kissed it off affectionately, and was gone.

"The path is steep, the night is dark, and the wind moans heavily among the trees. So much the better. Everything in outward nature corresponds with the state of my own mind. Everything around me is gloomy and sad as my own prospects. That cruel oath, why was it taken? It hangs like lead upon my heart, and presses it to the dust. Nay, nay, let me not reason thus. The oath, whether kindly meant or not, was spoken in the confidence due to one on whom, from boyhood, I have leaned as on my guardian angel. Ay, and it *was* meant in kindness. He would not wantonly inflict pain; his object is to avert an imaginary evil. Moreover, he mistakes my character entirely. Shall I be less zealous in the mighty cause, after my anxiety on this score has been allayed? Will not the opposite result ensue? As the case stands, my thoughts are all abroad. I know not what his views in reference to Louise may be: I am ignorant of her existing state, whether it be one of contentment or of misery. How is it possible, amid cares so instant and so pressing, to devote my energies to the work for which I am destined? Besides, I did not understand the vow as debarring me from

the degree of intercourse which used, in former days, to subsist between us. It is a forced interpretation that would carry it thus far, and based, too, on grounds altogether delusive. Not safe! Wherefore not safe? Am I not master of myself? Is not she pure, and holy, and confiding? What evil can possibly result from such communications as alone we seek to hold? I acted weakly in assenting to his view of the matter at all; I should be weaker still, were I to adhere to a promise that never ought to have been made. Besides, I will see her only once, merely to assure her that by me her appeal has not been neglected; and that, come what will, there is at least one heart among men that beats in unison with hers; — one arm that will defend her. I am right! I am right! and the moaning breeze and the darkening sky are omens not of ill, for they tend to cast around us a deeper shade, and to assure us of a blessed meeting and a happy parting."

Thus reasoned with himself a youth whose faculties were too acute, whose principles were too correct, and his love of truth too well grounded, not to be conscious all the while that his reasoning was unsound. For good or for evil he had pronounced a vow which he was now about delibe-

rately to violate; and not all the sophisms to which strong inclination gave birth, sufficed to assure him that he could do so and be innocent. Alas! is it not always thus when passion and principle stand opposed to one another? Always so, at least, during that perilous season when passion is to the human heart the mainspring of its movements. Who that has passed that season would desire to live it over again? For though the joy be intense, intense is likewise the suffering, and joy, as all experience proves, is but a fleeting treasure, whereas suffering abides with us for ever. Therefore were Franz's efforts unavailing to silence the still small voice which spoke unceasingly, though it spoke in vain. He could not even withdraw from it entirely his attention; and he pressed forward, therefore, the slave of feelings too much at variance among themselves to leave so much as the semblance of peace within his bosom.

The night was considerably advanced when he gained the ridge and began to descend into the forest ravine which interposes between the hills of Hernnskretschen and the Khuhstall. Long before he reached the latter point, darkness had covered earth's surface; and it was of the most sable kind, for neither moon nor stars could penetrate the

curtain of dense clouds by which the entire face of the sky was overspread. It would be hard to say how far the wanderer's spirits were, or were not, operated upon by the impenetrable gloom that was around him. Probably, such gloom was not without its effect — for when our minds are ill at ease, and especially if conscience be our tormentor, total darkness has sometimes a strange effect upon us — but it is certain that when a gleam of light suddenly shot from the cell of Father Ambrose, he started as if a spirit had spoken to him.

How strange that a circumstance in itself so unimportant should have caused his breath to come thick, and his pulse to cease! Yet so it was: he gazed for an instant, and then sprang forward at an accelerated pace, as if he had been fleeing from a mortal enemy.

The clouds have rolled partially away, and the dark blue sky shines out here and there, thickly bespangled with stars; over which, however, the breeze carries, from time to time, a fresh, though not so dense a covering. The boughs are waving with a melancholy sound, and the rush of the Kirnitsch, as it breaks over the millrace, speaks to the ear of the listener in tones of the deepest sadness. And there is one who listens to the natural

music of stream and breeze, in a frame of mind well fitted to drink in their saddest melody. From her lattice Louise looks forth, gazing with upturned eye upon the heaven which seems to have forsaken her, and casting many a bitter thought upon past and future, that are to her at this moment alike barren of comfort.

"Oh, that I might cease to be!" cried the broken-hearted girl. "Forgotten in my hour of need by him whom my soul trusted; — my prayer unanswered, my cry disregarded; — why is life prolonged to one for whom it has no blessing in store? Why may I not lay down my head and die?"

"Louise, mine own Louise," replied a voice, the tones of which sank like a well-known melody into her heart.

She started to her feet. She thrust her swanlike neck from the window, and there, beneath the shelter of a spreading oak, stood one, whom, even in the gloom of midnight, she could not for a moment mistake.

"Franz, Franz! is it Franz?" exclaimed she, in an audible whisper.

"It is even so, Louise," answered Franz. "Come to me if it be possible, only for one moment. Let me speak but one sentence in thine ear. I have

much to say, and thou to hear. Come to me, if it be possible."

She has withdrawn from the lattice, and for an instant or two all around the mill is silent. Franz holds his breath to listen, and strains his eyeballs, now accustomed to the darkness, till presently a light footfall sounds upon the sward, and a form passes, like the shadow of a dream, from the cottage. In an instant the lovers are locked in the embrace which, transitory though its rapture be, repays them for days and weeks of suffering. No word is spoken, no ejaculation is uttered, but in silence the spirit of each holds commune with the spirit of the other. At length, the faculty of speech returns, and such questions are put, and such replies made, as those alone could value were they recorded, by whom the record is least needed, perhaps, least desired.

"Mine own Louise, mine own, my beautiful!"

What music in the intonation that gave these simple words their being! what deep, deep meaning in their simplicity! Yet they called forth for a time no reply. Her forehead was upon his shoulder, her eyes were closed, her lips moved not, but her soul was in heaven.

They rouse them from this trance of truest and

tenderest affection. They glide slowly from beneath the oak, and passing over the intervening space of meadow, are overshadowed by the pine forest.

"A little further still; a few paces on, and our old trysting-place, the rock on which we have so often sat, is won. There we may venture to unburden our hearts to each other. There you will tell me all that has befallen or threatens; and there I will show you that not by me was mine own Louise forgotten, albeit mine absence may have given pain or excited surprise to more than thyself."

They gained the well-known spot. It is a flat stone, a sort of natural couch, overcanopied by the tall rock into which it is indented, with a sort of carpet of green sward spread out before it, and a screen of birch and pine-trees inclosing it on every side. They sat down; his arm round her waist, her hand locked in his; and knew not that minutes were growing into hours, while yet the ostensible business which they proposed to settle had been left untouched. Theirs was, indeed, the outpouring of pure and delicate minds. What were vows to Franz at this moment? or the import which they bore either in his own understanding or in that of another? Of what thought Louise, but of the

blessed consciousness that once again the arm supported her, while grasping which she knew neither fear nor sorrow? Alas! alas! that moments such as these should steal so surely from us. Yet so it was. They two told a thousand tales of tenderness; they no longer professed to feel as brother and sister; the truth, long known to each, was now the common property of both, and they were happy; when a low rustling in the underwood startled them.

"Hush!" whispered Louise, "heard you not something move."

"It was but the wind among the branches," replied Franz; "we have not noticed that, though the clouds are dispersing, the breeze grows fresher."

"There, again," exclaimed Louise, throwing herself involuntarily upon her cousin's bosom. Oh! fatal moment! For at the instant, a bolt from a crossbow rushed through the air, and quivered in the maiden's heart.

Franz heard the deadly plunge. He felt the warm tide gush out upon his hand; he saw her sink lifeless to the earth. He uttered a wild cry, and sprang to his feet. A man stood before him, whom, even in the gloom, he recognised as Carl the

forester, and in his hand was the fatal weapon. There was no time given for defiance or preparation for battle; Franz's sword was bare, it flashed like a meteor in the air, and the next instant was sheathed in the forester's bosom. Twice—thrice—was the thrust repeated, and the dead body, spurned by the foot of the slayer, rolled over the gentle declivity. But what to Franz was the sense of gratified revenge? He flew to Louise; he lifted her head from the earth; she breathed not, she moved not; there was no pulsation in her heart, and the blood still welled from her side in a dark warm tide. Madness was in his brain. He laid her upon the bench, and plunging into the forest, was seen no more for many days afterwards.

There was grievous mourning at the mill for the death of Louise; there were vigorous efforts made to discover the murderer of her and of Carl the forester. It does not appear that the latter were successful, for Franz could not be found, far or near; and though suspicion rested upon him, at least, in one quarter, the world knew nothing of it. On the contrary, Gaspar Housman became, after his terrible bereavement, an altered man. He mourned for his daughter like one that cannot be comforted, and found no resting-place for the sole of his foot.

As to Franz, he appeared not on the stage till after the war consequent upon the progress of the Reformation began; and then he fought in every skirmish with the desperation of one who seeks to win, not victory for his friends, but death for himself. And he found it at last.

Father Ambrose quitted his cave, as soon as the tragedy of the mill was made known to him, and went—no one knew whither.

Such is the melancholy incident that has given its name to a stone which the curious traveller may see not far from the Khuhstall. A sad tale, yet well known upon the spot, and told to every stranger who is fortunate in the choice of his guide, and sits with him to rest under the canopy of the Mädchenstein.

MILITARY EDUCATION.*

THIS is an extremely interesting, and, on the whole, a very valuable State paper. That it is not even more interesting and more valuable than we have found it to be, cannot, we think, be ascribed with fairness to any lack of ability on the part of the Commissioners. It is attributable, in a great degree, to the defective nature of the instructions under which they seem to have acted. They were not desired to inquire and to consider whether any and what improvements might be necessary in the military education of this country, regarded as a whole. Their commission extended no farther than to ascertain the best mode of reorganising the system of training officers for the scientific corps; and, as if with a view to cramp them in the ex-

* From "Blackwood's Magazine" for September, 1857.
Report of the Commissioners appointed to consider the best Mode of Reorganising the System for training Officers for the Scientific Corps.

ercise of their judgment within even these narrow limits, they were informed that, on certain points, the mind of the authority under which they acted was made up.

"The Secretary of State," says Mr. Monsell's official memorandum, "has already determined that patronage should be altogether abolished, and that admission to the scientific corps should be obtained only by a competing examination, and that that examination should be an open one." And again: "His Lordship has determined, also, that the candidate for this competing examination should be from seventeen to twenty years of age; and that the education for the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers should be common for the first year: the Commission will start from this point."*

Now we do not object — probably no sensible man will — to the abolition of patronage, in the sense usually applied to that term when used in connection with appointments to what are called the scientific, or any other corps in the British army. If it be not the object of all that is now

* Nobody looks for elegance of style in official documents. But surely the department of state which proposes to superintend the education of the officers of the army, may be expected to express itself — at all events grammatically.

doing and talked about, to prevent the army from being officered hereafter by the untested protégés of ministers of state and other influential persons, then the sooner public attention is withdrawn from the subject the better. But, for the sake of the army itself, as well as for that of the country, which is of greater importance still, we venture to express a hope that the time will never come when the honour of holding her Majesty's Commission shall be regarded as a prize for which every clever vagabond may compete, and which the sharpest rogue of the lot may count upon carrying off as a matter of right. Again, it is very possible that the proper age for beginning the special studies necessary to qualify for the artillery and engineers may range between seventeen and twenty; and future experience may show that it is better for both branches of the service that the "education for the Royal Artillery and the Royal Engineers should be common for the first year." But, with all possible respect for the high authority which settles these conditions, we would suggest that the points involved in them are still under discussion. Many competent judges happen to be of opinion that, to begin the special studies of either the artillerist or the engineer under eighteen or nineteen, would be

to begin them too early. Many believe that, from the outset of their special careers, the artillerist and engineer should study in different seminaries. Many hold that, if thrown together at all as students, they should meet not in the first, but in the last year of their pupillage; while some suggest an interchange of studies after they shall have respectively obtained their commissions, and entered upon the practical duties of their profession. On these several heads, however, the Commissioners are allowed no right of deliberation. The Secretary of State has decided the case according to his own view of the matter, and they have nothing to do but to shape their inquiries so as that they shall fall in with his decision.

Again, the Commissioners, though not positively prohibited from looking beyond the requirements of the scientific corps, receive little encouragement to do so, and that only by implication. Indeed, the use of the term scientific, as applicable exclusively to the regiments of artillery and engineers, indicates pretty plainly the channel in which the mind of their employer was running. It would almost seem as if the War Office, having absorbed the patronage and taken the place of the old Board of Ordnance, had adopted at the same time some of

the worst of the old Board's prejudices. Is no science necessary in military education except at Woolwich and Chatham? Or did the minister who issued these instructions shrink from extending his views beyond the two limbs of the service, to the special management of which he had succeeded? We give the Commissioners credit for the boldness with which they overstepped the strict line of their duty—they were undoubtedly wiser in their generation than their master. They looked farther than Woolwich, and Chatham, and Metz, and Olmutz, and Berlin. Their descriptions of the special school at St. Cyr, of the school of application for the staff in Paris, of the war-school and division-schools of Prussia, of the military academies of Austria, and of the seminaries at Ivrea and Pinerol in Sardinia — are among the most interesting and instructive portions of their report. It would seem, indeed, as if, while writing, they felt that they were travelling out of the record, for they apologise as they write. But we readily accept the apology, and thank them for the fault which they have committed.

But while we thus account for some of what might otherwise be regarded as the shortcomings of this able paper, we cannot shut our eyes to other

mistakes into which the Commissioners have fallen, and on which, before proceeding to deal more fully with the substance of their report, we think it right to touch. For one of these, Lieutenant-Colonel Smythe, R. A., seems indeed not to be responsible. He has guarded himself against being supposed to assent to more than "the History and Description of the Foreign Military Schools." In the other he so far participates, that whatever observations we may feel ourselves called upon to make, will apply as much to him as to his coadjutors. Yet, in sober earnestness, the mistake into which the Commissioners, as a body, have fallen, is so common — we had almost said so universal — among military men, that it would have been a matter of surprise to us had it been avoided on the present occasion. We shall advert to it, therefore, by and by, — not so much as if it supplied us with ground of censure, as because it is suggestive of grave thought to all who may hereafter be invited to take a practical part in the adjustment of what cannot now be much longer deferred — a general plan of military education for this country.

We gather from Colonel Smythe's protest that he takes exception to the result at which his fellow-commissioners arrive regarding the advisability or

otherwise of separating the education of the engineers from that of the artillery. Lieutenant-Colonel Yolland, R. E., and the Rev. W. C. Lake, are of opinion that it would not be desirable to establish one place of education for the artillery and another for the engineers, and they assign this among other reasons, that the small number of candidates for the engineers, not amounting to more than fifteen annually, would neither warrant the expense of training them apart by themselves, nor sufficiently stimulate the students in the prosecution of their studies. We by no means undervalue the force of this objection. If it be the fact that an average of no more than fifteen young men present themselves year by year for service in the engineers, the proposal to keep up a separate school for their instruction could hardly be received with favour either by the House of Commons or the Treasury. But we cannot help thinking that there must be some error in this calculation, which, if the wants of the Indian army be taken into account, might, it is believed, be safely doubled. And as no scheme of military education would be complete which should fail to bring Queen's and Company's aspirants under the same system of training, so, in considering the fitness of establishing a separate college of en-

gineers, we must remember that the Company's engineers, as well as the Queen's, are to be educated. Nor is this all. We agree with Colonel Symmonds, whose evidence is quoted in the Report, that Government could not do either a wiser or more economical thing than execute all its public works, such as drainage, the construction of docks, breakwaters, &c. &c. at home and abroad, under the direction of officers of the Royal Engineers. We believe that the works, besides being better accomplished, would cost the country less; and we are satisfied that they would call into existence such a body of military engineers as would render us better prepared for war than we have on any previous occasion been, should it unfortunately be forced upon us. In this case the propriety of a separate college for engineers could not be doubted. For however pleasantly the artillerist and the engineer might travel together over the common ground of military surveying, fortification, and the theory of projectiles, their courses must inevitably diverge as soon as the one began to inquire how railways, dockyards, and public buildings, might most conveniently be constructed, while the attention of the other was turned to that long list of requirements which the reader will find enumerated

and discussed in the "*Aide-Mémoire, à l'Usage des Officiers d'Artillerie.*"

Even in an economical point of view, therefore, we cannot allow that it is inexpedient to establish one place of special training for the artillery and another for the engineers. On the other hand, all the weight of authority, both at home and in foreign countries, is in favour of such separation. And here we must be pardoned if we charge the two Commissioners who differ from us with having, doubtless from inadvertence, or possibly under the restraining influence of their instructions, made but imperfect use of the evidence which they had collected when coming to their conclusions. They quote largely, in the body of their report, from General Chesney, but they omit all reference to the opinions of Colonel Wilford, R.A., of Lieutenant-Colonel Eardley Wilmot, R.A., of Lieutenant-Colonel W. N. Dixon, R.A., and Captain Boxer, and slur over the views taken by Captain Younghusband, R.A., by Colonel Barker, R.A., and by Lieutenant-Colonel Larcom, R.E., all of which are against them. So also their treatment of the information collected abroad, is, to say the least of it, extremely one-sided. In the first place, the digested account given in the body of their report makes

little or no use of it from beginning to end. In the next place, it is used in that section which discusses the point now under consideration somewhat disingenuously. Austria, for example, is represented as alone favouring the establishment of separate schools for artillery and engineers. Prussia and France are stated to be opposed to such separation. Now, though they have elsewhere admitted that military education is conducted in Austria on a better principle than in any other continental nation, the two Commissioners, strangely enough, report in favour of the French and Prussian practice; and they make this report, keeping out of view two facts, which seem to us directly to contradict the inferences which they draw. They do not state that, previously to their admission into the United School of Artillery and Engineers at Berlin, Prussian officers have already done duty with their respective corps, besides attending separate schools, which correspond in their nature and management with the Division Schools, which are attended by officers, aspirants of the Line. In the same spirit of unfairness they slur over the acknowledgment of the highest French authorities, that the course of instruction at Metz is so extremely theoretical, that "for all the artillery and

engineer officers learn there, they might as well join their regiments at once from the Polytechnic." And they are quite silent as to the inconveniences which are felt at Metz and Berlin, when the separation of studies, which sooner or later becomes necessary, takes place in both seminaries. Finally, they forget to inform the Secretary of State for War, that wherever they went upon the Continent the service of the artillery was held to require even higher attainments, more especially in mathematics, than the service of the engineers. In a word, the Report, so far as it touches upon the question of separate instruction for artillery and engineers, seems to us to be open to strong objection. It agrees neither with the body of evidence on which it is assumed to rest, nor in some sort with itself.

From a participation in this error, Colonel Smythe, by a modest protest, has guarded himself. We do not see that he stands quite clear from the second of the charges which we have undertaken to bring against this Report. Like almost every other body of men who have given their attention to the subject, the Commissioners appear practically to forget, that the military institutions of a country must, of necessity, take their tone from the civil

institutions under which the people live. We say practically, because, to do them justice, they more than once make a verbal admission of the fact. But we can discover no trace of any indwelling principle of such belief in the terms of unqualified admiration in which they speak of the Polytechnic in France, of the Cadet Houses in Prussia, and still more of the establishments for military education in Austria. Now it must not be forgotten that France, Austria, and Prussia, have very little in common, so far as their civil institutions are concerned, with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. They may enjoy a less or a greater amount of physical prosperity than ourselves — they may be quite as enlightened, quite as civilised — as far advanced, or farther, in knowledge of the sciences and in practice of the arts; but there is this marked distinction between us and them, that whereas we live under a limited and constitutional government, they are despotically governed. The objects of their rulers and of ours must, therefore, be different in many essential points — and in none more so than in the sort of education which they promote and encourage among the people. The Governments of France, Prussia, and Austria, desire indeed to have enlightened subjects, but they can

desire no more. The Government of England aims, or ought to aim, at bringing forward successive generations of enlightened citizens. The one seeks to be served ably and faithfully, the other encourages the people to think for themselves, to make their own laws, and to strengthen the hands of the Executive, only so far as that it may be able to enforce obedience to these laws when the Legislature has enacted them. And if this principle of action hold good elsewhere, it is especially operative on both sides, or ought to be, in dealing with the army.

In this country, an officer never ceases to be a citizen. He relinquishes neither his civil rights nor his civil liabilities when he girds on the sword. He is still eligible to a seat in the people's House of Parliament — and if chosen to represent a constituency there, he takes part year by year in passing the laws and voting the supplies that are necessary to keep the army from dissolving itself. In France, in Austria, and in Prussia, the army is a body distinct and apart from the nation at large. Its officers not only wear the sovereign's uniform, but they receive the sovereign's pay; and hold themselves bound to execute the sovereign's will under every conceivable emergency. It must be obvious

to the least far-sighted inquirer, that in preparing their young men for military service, countries so circumstanced ought to follow, if they be consistent, courses in many respects dissimilar. The despotic Governments will, as much as possible, take the education of candidates for commissions absolutely into their own hands. The constitutional Government may give encouragement, under certain circumstances, to special studies. It may appoint tests of fitness for military service, and afford ready means of mastering such tests; but it can go no further. The despotic Governments will foster from the outset the exclusive study of mathematics and of the physical sciences — not only because an extensive acquaintance with these is essential to the practice of the art of war, but because addiction to such studies has a direct tendency to withdraw men's minds from the consideration of political questions. The constitutional Government, not undervaluing the importance of scientific knowledge, will be desirous of superadding it to other acquirements which may be more interwoven, perhaps, with its civil than with its military institutions, but which are not, on that account, the less important in its eyes. And for converse

reasons — viz. because the great writers of Greece and Rome open the minds of the young to a perception of the value of civil liberty, the study of the classics will, by despotic Governments, be little countenanced, especially in military circles. They may not be able, nor perhaps may they desire, to exclude the classics from their courses of civil training; but they will take little or no account of them in preparing young men for service in their armies. The constitutional Government, on the contrary, starting from an opposite point, will desire to see the foundation of its special military training laid in such a course of early study as shall render its officers something more than accomplished soldiers. For it thinks of the army not as an instrument of repression over the people, but as a national institution, and is therefore disinclined to encourage such an excessive *esprit de corps* among its officers as would separate them in feeling and in social habits from the rest of the community. Hence the encouragement heretofore given to lads intended for the army, to seek their early education in the great public schools of this country, where the literature of Greece and Rome is extensively cultivated, and the seeds are sown of that strongly-marked national character, any change in

which would, we are free to confess, be looked upon by us with regret. But this is not all.

Despotic Governments so arrange the frame of general society, as that it shall either consist, as in Austria, of two classes — the Plebeian and the Noble — differing in personal privileges the one from the other, yet both equally subject to the Crown — or, as in France, it recognises two orders only — the absolute Monarch and the subject population. In either case, noble and peasant are, for military purposes, equally at the disposal of the Crown. France, Austria, and Prussia, alike recruit their armies by conscription, and alike require that candidates for commissions shall either pass through a military seminary, or serve for a while in the ranks. England, on the other hand, while she recognises the legislative privileges of a peerage, metes out to peer and peasant, in all that lies beyond these privileges, a very even-handed justice. In civil life, the same law which secures to the titled landed proprietor the peaceful usufruct of his estate protects the artisan in the exercise of his skill, and the ditcher in the application of his labour. And because the whole people is free, the same Government which recruits for its army by voluntary enlistment, selects its officers, as a

general rule, from among the higher and upper-middle classes of society. It is a remarkable fact, too, that in proportion to the extent to which the constitutional principle is carried in civil life, advancement from the ranks to the higher grades in military life is both infrequent and unpopular. Every French conscript—as soon as he has overcome the horrors of enlistment, begins to calculate, as a matter of course, on his chances of promotion; and every French soldier promoted from the ranks to a commission becomes an object—not of envy, but—of respect and pride to his former comrades. The case is entirely different among ourselves. In spite of all that has been done of late to rouse the personal ambition of our soldiers, they are still, as a class, not only indifferent but averse to promotion from the ranks. They look with no favour, but its opposite, on an officer who began his career as one of themselves—they infinitely prefer being commanded by what they call gentlemen.

Again, the highest ambition of the youth of all countries despotically governed, is to obtain employment, civil as well as military, under the Government; and it is the obvious policy of the Government to encourage this feeling. Hence in Austria, in Prussia, and still more in France, edu-

cation, which is the peculiar care of the State, points through all its stages steadily in one direction. The Polytechnic trains its pupils, not for the army alone, but for every occupation in life, where science and skill in the arts can be useful—and the Lyceums all train their alumni for the Polytechnic. Why is this? Because the highways in France are made and kept in repair by workmen superintended by Government officials. Because mines are dug, and railways laid down under the superintendence of Government officers. Because docks are constructed, ships built, the machinery required to propel them constructed and put together by Government artisans, under Government supervision. And it is to fit themselves for situations of this sort, and for many others like them, that the youth of France seek their instruction in schools, all of which are, to the most minute particulars, directed and controlled by the nominees of Government.

How diametrically opposed to this is the system of early training which prevails in England, as well as the principle on which it rests! We desire as much as possible to encourage freedom of choice among our youth, as well as liberty of action in our up-grown men. We are, therefore, not only averse

to fixing beforehand what the business of individuals shall be; but we abstain from giving such a character to our great seminaries of education, as shall bias the minds of lads reared in them to one species of occupation rather than another. Accordingly our public schools and universities, from which the best of our private schools take their tone, establish curricula, which are more or less calculated to prepare for all conditions of busy life. They do not profess to manipulate accomplished mechanicians, or to turn out skilled engineers, scientific miners, or able shipwrights; indeed the amount of physical science taught in them may perhaps be smaller than could be wished. But they give us what is of more moment;—wave after wave of young men, able and willing to rely on their own energies in the battle of life; and ambitious, first of winning an independence by commerce, or the prosecution of some liberal profession, and then, if the opportunity offer, of serving the State gratuitously as magistrates or members of Parliament. We must enter our protest against any scheme, or proposal of a scheme, which shall have ever so remote a tendency to interfere with this healthy state of things. We do not wish to see our national character changed, and it would

ill assort with that character to encourage the general growth of bureaucratic tastes among us. Finally, as the army, considered by itself, must always be an object of secondary consideration in this country—as the whole body of its officers taken together would weigh but as dust in the balance against the civilian members of the classes from which they are chiefly taken, so an attempt to operate on the public schools with a view to modify the course of education pursued there in order to meet the requirements of our military service, must of necessity be made under great disadvantages, and result in failure. We do not charge Lord Panmure's Commissioners with being neglectful of this particular truth—quite otherwise —but they cast into the shade others quite as important, and to us, at least, even more obvious. While bent upon improving the military education of this country, they overlook the necessity of well considering the social and political state of the country itself—and, commending to our approval the systems of France, of Prussia, and of Austria, they seem to forget, that however admirably suited these may be to the condition of France, Austria, and Prussia respectively, they would either not work at all, or would work mischievously if trans-

ported wholesale into England. The history of the Commission of which we have undertaken to speak, seems to be this: —

For a good while back, for a space of time which may date from about the year 1843 or 1844, the necessity of doing something to raise the standard of military education in this country appears to have been felt. Private persons spoke and wrote about it. Articles discussing it appeared in reviews, magazines, and newspapers, and by a process which usually takes place in like cases among us, the public mind became impregnated with an idea on which it still felt itself unable to act. In military circles alone the notion was scouted — and it proved particularly distasteful at the Horse Guards — as the Horse Guards were then managed. But the tide once fairly set in motion could not be stayed. To Sir R. Peel's government generally, and to Mr. Sidney Herbert in particular, belongs the merit of having placed themselves on the crest of the wave, and given to it a direction. A beginning was made by that reform in the Military Asylum at Chelsea and in the regimental schools, of which the good effect is now universally acknowledged; and, by little and little, points were taken up, urged, and carried, which cleared the way for

that still more important scheme, which is, we trust, about at length to be inaugurated.

The first victory achieved by common sense over prejudice, was much less important in itself than because of its inevitable consequences. We may smile if we please at the Duke of Wellington's celebrated order of 1846. We may criticise its diction, and wonder how such an intellect as his could have consented, even in its decay, to so ridiculous a device; but the order was of vast consequence nevertheless. It announced that, after a given date, candidates for commissions would be required to pass an examination at Sandhurst, in certain books, and portions of books, which were carefully particularised; and that some knowledge of geography, of military drawing, and of orthography, would be expected of them. Moreover, ensigns were warned that, previously to becoming lieutenants—and lieutenants, that, previously to becoming captains, they must be passed in a few very simple professional subjects by a Board of their senior officers. Honouring as we do the memory of the illustrious commander from whom this curious order proceeded, we abstain from entering further into its details, or offering any criticism upon it; for with all its shortcomings, it established

a principle from which there was no escaping. It affirmed the great truth, not previously recognised, that education of some sort is necessary to qualify for command in the British army, and narrowed thereby the ground of difference between sticklers for things as they used to be and the advocates of improvement. Accordingly, from the day when the duke's order made its appearance, statesmen were invited to consider, not whether there should be a system of military education in this country, but in what manner it should be carried on. And if they took longer time to determine this point than the more impatient advocates of change considered to be necessary, it by no means follows that they acted unwisely. At all events Mr. Herbert's speech in the House of Commons on the 5th of June, 1856, shows that he at least had never lost sight of the subject, and that even amid the pressure of the Russian war, he found leisure to mature a plan, and was prepared to act upon it.

There is no evidence before the public to show whether the successors of the Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Herbert did or did not adopt the views of these statesmen, either wholly or in part. Two Commissions were, indeed, appointed after Lord Panmure came into office, but the objects of both,

as far as we have been able to trace them, were limited. One, which has made no report, seems to have been occupied chiefly in examining the details of artillery, and the arrangement of arsenals in France, Austria, and Prussia. The other, instructed as we have elsewhere shown, thus describes its own purpose, and the means adopted to accomplish it:—

"It appeared necessary in the first instance, previous to any inspection of foreign schools, to make ourselves acquainted with the instruction given at those establishments for military education, to which our attention was especially directed. With this view we immediately visited the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, and the Royal Engineer establishment at Chatham, at both of which every assistance was given us by the authorities; and since our return from abroad, we have repeated our visit to Woolwich, with a view of comparing some points in the system of education there pursued with the principal features of teaching in foreign schools.

"Immediately after our inspection of these establishments, we thought it desirable to examine the French system of training artillery and engineer officers as followed in the Polytechnic School,

and in the School of Application at Metz; to both of which our attention was more particularly called by the nature of our instructions.

"Having thus had an opportunity of comparing the teaching in these institutions with that given in our own, our next duty appeared to be to circulate questions, soliciting the opinions and suggestions of officers in the two special corps, with regard to the manner in which our own system of education has worked; and the expediency of making certain alterations. In adopting this course, it was our wish to obtain extensively the opinions of officers of different ranks and experience. We therefore selected nearly an equal number in each corps, regard being had, in the first place, to officers of high rank; secondly, to those who had directed or had been closely connected with the education at Woolwich and Chatham; thirdly, to officers on service who had had recent opportunities of testing the merits of the training at the academies; and lastly, from junior officers who were comparatively fresh from their instructions. Some of our questions were intentionally of a very general nature, in order to give room for the expression of such variety of opinion on the education of the two corps as we understood to exist."

"The number of officers to whom we applied, was limited by the employment of a large portion on active service in the Crimea or in foreign stations, and by the full occupation of many others in England. But though this fact may have somewhat diminished the amount of the evidence sent us, full information has been given respecting the Royal Military Academy and the establishment at Chatham, and we have received many valuable suggestions upon points of general military education. . . . . We endeavoured also to obtain the opinion of foreign officers on the working of education in their own country. Thus, in the case of the Polytechnic School, having been struck both by its excellent teaching, and by the points of difference it exhibited to our own system, we requested the opinions of several scientific officers, and other persons connected with the school, with regard to the effect of its high scientific studies on the special army in France. The answers, which were most willingly sent to our questions, we have placed in immediate connection with our account of the instruction given in the Polytechnic itself, and the School of Application at Metz. We also followed a similar course in Prussia, where we were able to obtain a full and valuable account of the history and work

ing of some parts of the Prussian educational system from Colonel Von Holleben, who is now, and has been for many years, Adjutant to the General Inspector of Military Education.

"Our principal object, however, has been an examination of the chief military schools in France, Austria, Prussia, and, although less minutely, in Sardinia."

The first foreign country visited by the Commissioners was France, and of the schools connected with the French army, the following list is given:— 1. The Polytechnic, preparatory to,—2. The Artillery and Engineer School at Metz; 3. The school at St. Cyr, for infantry and cavalry; 4. The Staff School at Paris; 5. The Military Orphan School at La Flêche; 6. The Military School in connection with the hospital at Val-de-Grâce; 7. The School of Musketry at Vincennes; 8. The Gymnastic School near Vincennes; 9. The Music School; 10. The schools of regiments. All these are under the charge of the Minister of War, with whom the authorities of each communicate directly; and the total expense of their maintenance to the State is given at 72,000*l.* a year. This, however, seems to be the estimated expenditure during a season of peace only. In war the expenses are much heavier;

and it is worthy of remark that no portion of the amount is devoted to the maintenance of regimental schools, the whole being applied to the education of officers, of the children of officers, and of candidates for commissions.

It is generally known that, in the French army, one-third of the officers in the Line, two-thirds of those in the special corps, and the whole of the staff, receive a careful professional education. The remainder are appointed from the ranks by the Emperor, on the recommendation of their commanding officers. It is equally well understood, that of the officers so appointed, few attain to a higher grade than that of captain — an arrangement from which we draw this natural inference, that, in the French service, though courage and good conduct are considered sufficient qualifications for inferior commands, scientific study and professional knowledge are held to be essential to commands of higher importance.

Again, the plan of taking mere boys into military schools, and so training them to become officers, has long been abandoned in France. The first Revolution, which swept away other seminaries of learning, put an end to the cadet houses, in which the sons of the aristocracy used to be educated at

the public expense for military service. And Carnot, to whom the merit belongs of having restored education to his country, took care that this abuse of it should not revive. With the assistance of a few eminent men — Monge, Fourcroy, Berthollet, Lagrange — all, like himself, ardent republicans, yet all ardent lovers of science too, he founded the Polytechnic, on the model of which every public school subsequently erected in France has been formed. Its chief characteristics are these:—

Candidates for admission to the Polytechnic must have reached the age of sixteen years complete, and not have passed their twentieth year, except in the cases of soldiers already in the service, who are eligible at any time between twenty and twenty-five years of age. The right of competing is open to all young men, Frenchmen by birth, or naturalised in France, who have passed through one or other of the common schools of the country, and received their Baccalauréat *; and candidates furnishing proof that they are too poor to maintain themselves, are entitled, if they pass the preliminary examination, to assistance from the State.

* The Baccalauréat, or Bachelor's Degree, in France, is given at the end of a boy's school career, and certifies that he has completed it to the satisfaction of the masters.

This is given either in full or in half *bourse;* that is to say, the youth is allowed either the whole or a moiety of the annual sum required to support him at school; and in order that poverty may not stand in his way, the State gives him, at the same time, a sum of money wherewith to provide an outfit.

There are two examinations preliminary to admission into the Polytechnic, conducted by two sets of examiners. The first is intended to satisfy the Minister of War that candidates are really worth examining. The second settles the places which the lads are respectively to take on being admitted into the school. The first is conducted partly on paper, partly by *viva voce* question and answer, and occupies in the former process twenty-four hours, spread over twenty-two days and a half. The second employs each examiner, with each candidate, one hour and a half in oral discussion. The subjects discussed seem to be Arithmetic, Geometry, Latin (optional); Algebra, History, Geography; the French language; Descriptive Geography and Diagram; Mechanics, Physics; Applied Analysis; German; Solution of a triangle by Logarithms; Drawing. A scale of merit is employed to express the value of the answers given; and the

reports of the examiners, conveying this scale in each case, are made to the Minister of War. Of the relative importance attached to the sciences and to language, an idea may be formed when we state that, while out of 86 marks, the German exercise counts for only 1, and French composition for 5; 20 marks are given to Analytical Mathematics; 16 to Physics and Mechanics; and 14 to Geometry.

The individuals employed to conduct these examinations constitute a board, and hold their sittings once in every year, not in Paris only, but in each of the chief towns of France. They report to the Minister of War, who, having settled beforehand the number of vacancies to be filled up, supplies them in strict accordance with the scale of merit as it has come in. The course at the Polytechnic extends over two years, with periodical examinations, of which the last is of course the most severe, and according to the manner in which he may have acquitted himself at this, the student is permitted to select the line in which he shall serve the State. There are open to him employment, 1st, Under the Minister of War; 2nd, Under the Minister of Marine; 3rd, Under the Minister of Public Works; 4th, Under the Minister of the Interior; 5th,

Under the Minister of Finance; and 6th, In any other department, the duties of which require an extensive knowledge of Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry.

As we have already taken occasion to point out, the ablest youths select, for the most part, civil employment. It is better paid than the army, and, except in times of public calamity, it opens a wider door to ambition. Such as either prefer military service, or are thrown back upon it, pass out of the Polytechnic into the School of Application for Artillery and Engineers at Metz, or else, to the number of three, claim admission into the School of Application for the Staff. There are about 140 or 150 appointments, civil and military, made from the Polytechnic every year.

The staff employed to manage and instruct the pupils at the Polytechnic is very large. The military establishment consists of a commandant, a general officer, usually of the artillery or engineers; a second in command, a colonel or lieutenant-colonel, chosen from among the former pupils of the school; three captains of artillery, and three of engineers, inspectors of study; and six adjutants (non-commissioned officers, to whose rank we have no parallel in our service), generally under

recommendation for promotion. Besides these, there are thirty-nine professors and teachers, four boards of management, and ten scientific men, unconnected with the school, to conduct the examinations.

The mode of teaching is peculiar. It combines the professorial system with the tutorial, professors being employed to lecture on the various sciences, and *répétiteurs*, or private tutors, to examine and work up the students to profit by such lectures. The professors are fifteen in number, and the *répétiteurs* twenty-four, who proceed thus: Each professor assembles his class in one of the theatres, and, beginning with a few questions on the subject of the lecture last delivered, goes on with a fresh subject. The students take notes, and, retiring into smaller rooms, find themselves in knots under the hands of *répétiteurs*, who tax their memories, lead them on to draw inferences, and so impress upon their minds more than the mere words of the discourse to which they have listened. It is worthy of remark, that, out of the sixteen professors, six are military men, and that the whole number of students, for whom this extensive staff is provided, never exceeds three hundred and fifty persons.

The Polytechnic has grown, by little and little, to become what it now is, the heart of education for France. It came into existence at a time when the dissolution of the country seemed to be inevitable — when the Revolution had swept away all places of instruction, including the University; and the very soil itself was in possession of foreigners. It attracted towards itself a large share, both of the natural ability and of the ambition of the Republic, and it struck its roots into the soil of Republicanism by the adoption of a system of rigid competition. Considered as a place of instruction, it possesses at once great merits and great defects. The moral tone which pervades it is not good; and its influence in this, as well as in other respects, is felt throughout France. It quickens the intellect of its pupils, without rousing within them a healthy, or even a manly spirit. It rears mathematicians, but sends out few men liberally educated. There has never yet been a revolution, or an attempt at a revolution, in France, in which the pupils of the Polytechnic have failed to bear a part; though one great object of its existence is, to rear up bands of clever men, interested as well as pledged to support the powers that be. Religious teaching is, of course, ignored

entirely, and of classics, or even of history, little or no account is taken. Nor is it in these respects alone that the system of instruction at the Polytechnic produces unsatisfactory results. "The system of education," say the Commissioners, "excellent as it is in its stimulating power, has one or two marked defects—such as the attempt to give exactly the same teaching to a class of a hundred and sixty pupils, with no reference to their varieties of ability or powers of application. This practice has a tendency either to make many of the pupils superficial, or to exhaust them. Now, it must be remembered, that the majority of these pupils enter the army, and hence probably the numerous complaints on both points from the military authorities at Metz, who possess the best opportunities of testing the effects of the Polytechnic." We perfectly agree in all this, and, deprecating any attempt to establish a Polytechnic among ourselves, pass on to a consideration of the school of artillery and engineers, to which the Polytechnic is the great feeder.

The first artillery school founded in France owed its existence to Louis XIV., and was placed, in 1679, at Douai. In 1720, under the Regency, the regiment of artillery received a new organisa-

tion, and in each of the seven towns which were garrisoned by portions of the corps, a school of theoretical instruction was set up. In 1756, D'Argenson, Minister of War, founded an academy at La Fère, with a staff of four professors, two for mathematics, and two for drawing, which, after a temporary transfer to Bapaume, whence, in 1756, it returned again to La Fère, was, with other schools, suppressed at the Revolution.

The same minister who established an academy for the service of the artillery at La Fère, set up a school of instruction for engineers at Mezières. It achieved a high reputation, numbering Monge among its professors; but it suffered the same fate with the academy and with the rest of the educational establishments of France. The Revolution swept it away.

When the wars consequent on that moral earthquake broke out, provisional schools were established at Metz and at Chalons-sur-Marne, the former for the instruction of engineers, the latter to educate officers for the artillery. They laboured under many disadvantages, and produced but little fruit; whereupon the Polytechnic was called into being, originally with a view to supply the army with engineers; but, after brief experience, to serve

as a school preparatory to those of special application. And so matters remained from 1795 to 1802, when the school at Chalons was broken up, and its staff and establishment transferred to Metz. Metz then became, what it has ever since continued to be, the seat of the United School of Application for artillery and engineers.

Metz, as our readers are probably aware, is a fortified town on the Prussian frontier. It is situated upon the confluence of the Moselle and the Seille, and is usually garrisoned by about ten thousand men. It possesses an arsenal and a school of pyrotechny for the construction of rockets, with two great regimental schools, one of artillery, the other of engineers. But the establishment with which we are chiefly concerned, is the United School of Application, which occupies the site, and is, in part, lodged in the apartments of a suppressed convent of the Benedictine order. The old church of the convent has been converted into a Salle de Manœuvre, and is sufficiently capacious, not only to contain artillery of various descriptions —mortars, field and siege guns, placed as in battery —but to allow of the pieces being moved, and exercises performed, when the state of the weather is unfavourable to out-of-doors drill. The amphi-

theatres or lecture-rooms are two in number; one for the use of each of the two divisions into which the school is told off. And there are three halls of study, to which, after the lectures come to an end, the students repair, that they may fill up their notes, and consider and digest the subjects discussed in them. Besides this, there are galleries filled with models of every kind — of fortifications, bridges, and so forth — as well as with arms and portions of arms, and specimens of carpentry, of roofing, &c. &c.; while an excellent library, with a reading-room adjoining, offer at once the means and the inducement to private study.

Young men enter this school, after passing through the Polytechnic, at an average age of about twenty-one, with the rank, pay, and social status, of sub or second lieutenant. Their treatment is that of officers under instruction, and except that they are obliged to be present at all lectures, as well as drills, their discipline is not more rigid than that to which regimental officers are subjected. Apart from drill and lecture, they spend their time as they please; living, often studying, in their own rooms, and taking their meals at restaurants in the town.

The course of instruction in the School of Appli-

cation extends, like that at the Polytechnic, over two years; and the students are allowed to count these years, as well as the time spent in preparing for them, as years of actual service. During the first year the instruction communicated is common to both artillery and engineers. Taking account of it by days, and reckoning the year at two hundred and eighty-four days of study, we find the time thus appropriated:—

	Days.
Military art and legislation occupy - - -	33
Topography and geodesy - - - -	47
Field fortification - - - - -	39
Permanent fortification - - - -	88
Theory and practice of construction - - -	77
Total -	284

In the second year the instruction for artillery and engineers diverges a little, and is managed thus through two hundred and forty-five days:—

	Art. Days.	Eng. Days.
Military art and legislation - - - -	2	2
Topography and geodesy - - - -	28	28
Attack and defence of places - - -	44	44
Permanent fortification - - - -	44	129
Artillery and machines - - - -	81	0
Theory and practice of construction - -	46	42
	245	245

There is, besides, a short course in the veterinary

art through which all pass; and drill and military exercises are of daily occurrence.

At Metz, as at the Polytechnic, there are periodical examinations, of which the last is the most formidable, and to prepare for it, six weeks of free or voluntary study are allowed. A jury of examiners tests the abilities of the students as well orally as through their plans, mémoires, and papers; and the place of each, in the service which he has selected, is fixed by taking the aggregate number of the marks which he may have earned.

The staff of instruction and of government of the School of Application at Metz is, like the staffs of other military schools in France, very large. To instruct one hundred and forty sub-lieutenants, there are not fewer than nine professors, four assistant professors, and one drawing-master — of whom all, except three — viz. the professor of German, the assistant professor of the veterinary art, and the teacher of drawing — are military men. The staff of government consists of a commandant, a general either of artillery or engineers, a second in command, also director of studies, a colonel or lieutenant-colonel of one or other of these corps, a major of artillery, a major of engineers, five captains of artillery, five captains of engineers, and a sur-

geon-major. There is, besides, a large administrative staff, comprising treasurer, librarian, assistant librarian, principal clerk, two storekeepers, one skilled mechanic, a skilled lithographer and fencing-master; and thirty-three horses kept in the stables are used in teaching the students to ride, and in carrying them abroad when employed in making surveys of the surrounding country.

The instruction of the officers of artillery and engineers does not, however, in the French service, come to an end when they pass out of the School of Application at Metz. A second lieutenant of the former arm, on joining his regiment, is employed on all duties that tend to make him master of the drill, practice, and manœuvres of artillery, as well as of the internal economy and discipline of his corps. He continues to attend to these matters till he arrive at the rank of second captain, when he is detached, and sent in succession to all the chief arsenals, cannon-foundries, powder-mills, and small-arm factories of France. Sometimes he is employed as an assistant in one of these factories; and if he distinguish himself by his ability there, he is appointed an inspector of regimental arms. On advancement to the rank of first captain, he rejoins his regiment.

In time of war the officers of artillery in the French service are required to construct their own batteries, and to direct the ordnance in sieges as well as in battles. The pontoon-train also is attached to their arm, and on them devolves the duty of forming moveable bridges and passages by boats. Nor is the fact unworthy of notice, that both artillery and engineers manufacture their own tools — field-officers acting as superintendents, and captains as sub-directors, in such manufactures.

Acting on the same principle, the sub-lieutenant of engineers, on joining his regiment, works beside his men, and passes with them through courses of practical instruction in sapping, mining, field-fortification, sham sieges, bridge-making, castrametation, &c. Indeed, it is not till he attain the rank of second captain that he ceases to do regimental duty, or is employed at all upon the *état-major* of his corps, either in keeping up such public works as may already exist, or in helping to design and execute others.

We come now to the special military school at St. Cyr, where young men intended for the infantry and cavalry of France are educated together. Like the rest of the military schools of the country, it is of comparatively recent formation, and takes, in

some sort, the place of the "Ecole Royale Militaire," which, with other seminaries superintended, under the ancient régime, by priests, and frequented exclusively by the children of the noblesse, was overthrown at the Revolution. Students or cadets enter here as they enter at the Polytechnic, between the ages of sixteen and twenty, unless they be soldiers already in the service, when they are received up to twenty-five. The civilian class must produce their Baccalauréat, and are entitled if poor, to claim bourses or demi-bourses, as well as whole or half outfits. The course comprises two years, and lads are permitted to enter upon it only after examinations conducted on the plan which we have elsewhere described. These are not so severe as the entrance examinations to the Polytechnic, but they embrace a good many subjects, such as arithmetic, including vulgar and decimal fractions; algebra to quadratic equations with one unknown quantity; geometry, plane and solid; plane trigonometry; geometrical representations of bodies by projections; French composition; German exercises; drawing; physical science purely descriptive; chemistry, history, and geography. The number of students during peace averages six hundred, for whom are provided thirty-one pro-

fessors and teachers, all military men: besides a general as commandant; a colonel of infantry second in command; a major, four captains, twelve lieutenants, and five second-lieutenants of infantry; a major, one captain, thirty-four lieutenants, and one second lieutenant of cavalry; a director of studies, two assistant-directors, and six examiners. When it is remembered that every one of these, except the commandant, takes a part, more or less active, in the business of instruction, it will be seen that, with whatever shortcomings the French government may be chargeable, it certainly does not starve this or any other military college in the important matter of an educational staff.

The course of study extends, as we have said, over two years, and follows in almost every essential particular the plan adopted in the Polytechnic. Professors give lectures in the theatres, and répétiteurs enforce and improve upon them in private classes; but whereas in the Polytechnic each répétiteur withdraws with his six or eight pupils into a small apartment, at St. Cyr the process of repetition goes on in three large rooms, each capable of accommodating two hundred cadets. The conveniences provided for the students are also, in other respects, inferior to those at the Poly-

technic. The young men sleep like private soldiers in barrack-rooms and on barrack-beds, and their garments resemble those of privates of infantry, except that the fabric of the cloth is a little less coarse. A great deal of time also is devoted to military exercises, to squad, company, and battalion drill, as well as to manœuvres of cavalry and artillery, insomuch that, throughout the first year, only one hundred and seventy-four lectures are delivered, and in the second no more than one hundred and twenty-one. The first year's curriculum embraces Descriptive Geometry, Physical Science applied to Military Arts, History entirely military, and that of France; Geography and Statistical Memoirs, French Literature, German, and Drawing. The second carries the school through Topography, Fortification, Artillery and the Ballistic Pendulum, Military Legislation, Military Administration, Military History and Art, German, and Drawing. Besides these, there is special instruction in riding, in the veterinary art, and in artillery practice. From all that we have ever heard of the school of St. Cyr, we should not augur very highly of its tone either in morals or manners. We should say also, that the intellectual training is scarcely of the first order; yet from the school of St. Cyr is mainly fed a semi-

nary, on the excellence of which France especially prides herself—we mean the School of Application for the Staff, of which it now remains to give some account.

For the information of our civilian readers, it may be well to state that the staff of the French army is constituted on a principle entirely different from our own. It is not only a corps separate in itself, but the officers appointed to it come in much larger numbers directly from military schools than from regiments. It is divided into chiefs of the staff, sub-chiefs, staff-officers, and aides-de-camp. There are comprehended under these titles, thirty-five colonels, thirty-five lieutenant-colonels, one hundred and ten majors, three hundred and thirty captains, one hundred lieutenants. Colonels and lieutenant-colonels are usually employed as chiefs of the staff in the several military districts of France. Majors, captains, and lieutenants act, for the most part, as aides-de-camp. In large armies the chief of the staff assumes the title of major-general. His duties are as onerous as his responsibility is great, for he is the organ through which orders on all subjects pass from the commander-in-chief to every department of the army. To him also reports are made from artillery, engineers, and

commissariat, as well as from infantry and cavalry; and purveyors, and doctors, and nurses, and priests, equally communicate with him, and receive from him their instructions. Nor is there any severance, as with us, into the staff of the adjutant's and of the quartermaster-general's departments. In France the staff officer is liable to be employed on all manner of duties; for he who is engaged as a clerk in the War Depôt to-day may be sent to-morrow to take charge of a division of an active army in the field. It is worthy of remark, too, that everything that bears upon the science and history of the art of war is managed by the officers of the staff corps. The War Depôt at Paris, one of the most important branches of the War Office, is under their special charge, where they collect and arrange papers relating to the records of military operations, reconnaissances, and plans of battles. It is their business also to make search for such manuscript maps as seem to them useful for military purposes, and to get them copied and published. They undertake the trigonometrical survey of countries and provinces, compile and catalogue the War Office library, and are thus ready at any moment, should war threaten, or actually break out, to supply the Government with whatever information

may be needed. We venture to say, that at this moment the military features of Great Britain are more perfectly delineated in the maps of the War Depôt at Paris than in any of which our own War Office in Pall Mall can boast; though it is but fair to the latter to acknowledge, that a topographical department has at last been formed therein, which promises to remove from us one of the heaviest reproaches under which, as a military nation, we had previously lain.

There are three channels through which young Frenchmen may win their way into the staff-school. There is only one — viz. the school itself — through which officers can pass into the staff. The School of Application, situated in the Rue Grenelle, not far from the Invalides in Paris, is presided over by a commandant, a general of brigade; by a second in command, and director of studies, himself a colonel or lieutenant-colonel of the staff-corps; by a major of the staff-corps, three captains, and a medical officer. There are thirteen military and three civilian professors to carry on the details of education, which embrace the following subjects:—

1. Applied Descriptive Geometry.
2. Astronomy, Physical Geography, and Statics.
3. Geodesy and Topography.

4. Fortification.
5. Artillery.
6. Military Legislation and Administration.
7. The Art of War.
8. Descriptive Geography.
9. Equitation.
10. Drawing.
11. German.
12. Fencing.

One hundred and forty-five horses are kept in the stable for the use of the military students, and eighty-two cavalry soldiers look after them.

The number of students under instruction ranges from fifty to one hundred—fifty being the establishment in time of peace. There are apartments for sixty within the walls, and the remainder, if the school be on a war establishment, find lodgings for themselves in the neighbourhood. All obtain the rank of second-lieutenant on joining the school; and after passing their first examination they are promoted to be first-lieutenants. They take their meals at cafés and restaurants, and are waited upon by servants provided at the public expense —one servant being allowed for eight students.

Admission into the staff school is obtained by competition, except in the cases of three lads from the Polytechnic, who are privileged to claim the three first places, and obtain them. About twenty-

five vacancies occur every year, of which twenty-two are filled up either out of the thirty most forward students at St. Cyr, or by candidates from the active army. These latter must be sub-lieutenants, and not more than twenty-five years of age. In point of fact, however, it seldom happens that candidates from the active army are numerous, and out of such as present themselves very few win the prize. The main recruitment of the staff-school is, therefore, from the special military school at St. Cyr.

The entrance examinations, which take place before a board appointed by the Minister of War, deal strictly with professional subjects, and the studies, which range over two years, partake generally of the same character. They receive considerable relief, however, from out-of-door employment — three months in every year being devoted to reconnaissances, sometimes of the country round Paris, sometimes of the scenes of military operations elsewhere. All instruction is given by the professors in their lectures, the contents of which the young men work up out of their notes, groups of twelve or fifteen sitting together in separate halls for that purpose. But they are not, as in the Polytechnic, assisted by répétiteurs, nor is any

encouragement given to what we should call private study. Indeed, it seems to be a settled opinion in France, that whatever military students endeavour to do in private, they do carelessly.

There are eight examinations in all, two in each year, which become more strict and comprehensive as the termination of the course approaches. The fourth of these passes the officer from the first or lower school into the higher, provided he obtain four out of twenty marks in each branch of study. To qualify for the staff itself, not fewer than one-half of the maximum of numerical credits (1200) is indispensable.

If a young man fail at the final examination, he goes off as a lieutenant to some regiment of infantry or cavalry; and it is worthy of remark, that, though direct admission into the staff-corps can be obtained only through the School of Application, there is no objection to exchanges between officers of the staff-corps and officers of the line. In this case, however, the staff-officer's rank must not exceed that of captain, while the officer from the line undergoes precisely the same examination to which he would have been subjected had he passed two years at the school.

It will be seen from this statement that the staff

of the French army constitutes a corps of itself; that on the members of that corps devolve all the duties of general administration and detail; that the departments of statistics, topography, military history, and surveying, are especially in their charge; that the War Office trusts to them for the accumulation of useful military knowledge during peace, and that generals in command of armies, and of divisions, depend upon them for intelligence, the maintenance of discipline, and the ordering of marches during war. To qualify for these high trusts, staff-officers serve, so to speak, an apprenticeship. The aide-de-camp rises, if found qualified, to become, first, a sub-chief, and then a chief of the staff to a division or *corps d'armée*. He is just as ready to undertake one description of routine duties as another, having prepared himself for all alike by four years of severe study. Nor does he enter upon his staff-duties as soon as he quits the school. In order that he may become master of the whole machine, of which he is to be a prime mover, he is attached successively to the various arms of the service, and does regimental duty for two years in the infantry, for an equal space of time in the cavalry, and for one year in the artillery, and sometimes in the engineers also.

"This routine," says the report, "cannot be interrupted except in time of war, and even then the lieutenant cannot be employed on the staff until he has completed his two years in the infantry. However, officers who have an especial aptitude for the science of geodesy or topography may even earlier be employed on the map of France, and other similar duties; and further, two of the lieutenants, immediately on quitting the staff-school of application, are sent to the War Depôt (*depôt de la guerre*) to gain a familiarity with trigonometrical operations. The general officers, at their inspections, are required to report specially to the Minister of War on the captains and lieutenants of the staff-corps doing duty with the regiments in their districts, both as to their knowledge of drill and manœuvres, and their acquaintance with the duties of the staff. They are to require these officers to execute a military reconnaissance, never allowing more than forty-eight hours for the field-sketch and its accompanying report."

Treading in the footsteps of the Commissioners, we come now to Prussia, where equal care is bestowed as in France on military education, though the details of management differ in the two countries, as much as in other respects their civil and

military institutions stand apart. In France the entire male population, from the age of eighteen to thirty-five, is liable to military service — the army being recruited by conscription, with leave given to individuals to provide substitutes for themselves. There is no reserve or militia of any kind except the national guard, every member of which, so long as he is within the limits of military age, is liable to be drawn as a conscript. The army of France is therefore the same in peace as in war, except that in war its numbers become increased. It is always, and in all its parts, movable, the term of service for each soldier being fixed at seven years. In Prussia every man not incapacitated by bodily infirmity, or engaged in the duties of the ministry, or in tuition, is obliged to serve in person. But service in the regular army never exceeds, in time of peace, three years; and when the recruit is a man of education, and able to provide his own clothing and appointments, it terminates at the end of one year. Nominally, however, all are enlisted for a term of five years—from the age of twenty to twenty-five: the last two, or four, as the case may be, they spend at home without pay, being enrolled in the

reserve, and liable in case of need to be called back to their standards at a moment's notice.

Having completed their five years' service in the regular army, the young men of Prussia enter the Landwehr — a peculiar militia, of which there are two bands or classes. The first band includes all within the ages of twenty-five and thirty-two; the second, all within the ages of thirty-two and thirty-nine. After thirty-nine, men fall into the Landsturm, a force somewhat akin to our Posse Comitatus, which can be summoned to arms only at a general rising of the people, to put down a rebellion, or repel a foreign invasion.

The Landwehr, like the regular army, consists of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, the regiments of which maintain a close connection with their kindred regiments in the active force. The Landwehr of the first band turn out every year to be brigaded with the regiments of the line, and take their part in the autumnal manœuvres. They are liable also, in the event of war, to be called up and marched out of the country against the enemy. The Landwehr of the second band meet for only a brief annual service, but they are not brigaded with the first band, or with the line, nor are they required under any circumstances to march out of

the country. It does not appear that military service is more generally popular in Prussia than elsewhere; very few young men remain with their colours beyond the space of time appointed by law; and though immense efforts are made to educate and bring forward non-commissioned officers, there seems to be considerable difficulty in keeping up a sufficient supply of that invaluable order of men.

Everybody knows that the system of which we are now speaking was elaborated in the hour of Prussia's deepest humiliation by the genius of Stein and of Scharnhorst. It proved very effective during the wars of 1813, '14, and '15, and is still, so far as regards the principle from which it starts, highly thought of by the Prussians themselves. It unquestionably led to great improvements in the manner of providing officers for a force which, being made up in no inconsiderable proportion of the intelligence of the country, looked for at least a fair share of intelligence in those by whom it should be commanded. Not that the democratic element has at all entered into the military institutions of Prussia — quite otherwise. A Prussian officer is always a gentleman, and the Prussian people desire that he should be one. But then a Prussian gentleman must qualify for a commission,

and satisfy examiners appointed by the Crown that he has done so, before he can receive it. The process is this: —

In Prussia, as in other Continental countries not shaken up by the events of 1793, there are schools wherein young gentlemen are educated, the poorer sort at the public expense, and all in a military spirit. These seminaries — Cadet Houses, as they are called — are five in number, of which four in the provinces receive boys from the age of twelve to sixteen, and then pass them on, if their relatives desire it, to the fifth — the Cadet House in Berlin. Though the teachers in these schools are all military men, and the dress of the boys, and the habits of the schools themselves, are formed upon a military model, the education is by no means professional. Neither is it exacted of the pupils as a condition that they shall enter the army; on the contrary, till the youth reach the highest class in the Cadet House at Berlin, the education which he receives is of the most liberal kind, and he is perfectly free either to apply it to the business of civil life, or to seek employment, as is more generally done, in the profession of arms.

All young gentlemen, ambitious of obtaining

commissions in the Prussian army, must, with the exception of 30 per annum, the cream or *selecta* of the class of which we are speaking, serve for at least nine months in the ranks. They apply, personally or through their relatives, to colonels of regiments, who nominate them to become ensigns; a rank just above that of corporal, and inferior to that of sergeant; to which, however, they cannot be admitted, unless they satisfy a royal board of Commissioners that they have received a good general education. Having passed this examination, they take the ordinary duties of a soldier, though associating, off parade, with the officers, and wearing a peculiar sword-knot; and if, at the end of nine months, the officers of the regiment approve of them, they pass into one of what are called the Division Schools, and there study for their second examination. This right of veto, if we may so call it, operates very powerfully in keeping up the aristocratic spirit of the Prussian army, and it is just to add, that it seems to be exercised on all occasions in a spirit of perfect fairness. Habits and manners at variance with those of good society — any approach, however remote, to untruth or dishonourable dealing — as surely exclude from advancement as a plebeian lineage. Indeed,

they are much more effectual in barring the ensign from his lieutenancy, for, though such promotions occur very rarely, there is no rule in the Prussian service to hinder the advancement of a meritorious soldier from the ranks to a commission.

At present there are in Prussia nine division-schools, corresponding to the number of army corps into which the standing force of the country is distributed. Admitted into these, the candidates for lieutenancies devote themselves entirely to military subjects — to fortification, artillery, tactics, military surveying (the theory), military literature, instruction in military duties, plan-drawing, gymnastics, riding, fencing. They are under the charge of officers taken chiefly from the staff-school, of whom the numbers are so great as to give to each aspirant well nigh the benefit of special tuition. It is said that the division-schools are found to be too numerous, and that the Government proposes to reduce them to three. This is not improbable, nor can the arrangement be regretted, if it be the intention of the Prussian Government to keep these schools on their present footing. But should it be found advisable to expand the system, and to require further study, and an examination preparatory to the attainment

of the rank of captain, then we cannot but think that, for an army so well organised as that of Prussia, nine division-schools will not be found too many. It appears that the average attendance of pupils in each does not, at the present moment, exceed ten or twelve. The course embraces nine months, and the young men repair, at the close of it, to Berlin, where they are examined, passed, or sent back again by a board appointed by the Crown.

Meanwhile, of the cadets educated at the cadet-house in Berlin, all except the *selecta* receive direct appointments, and join their regiments as ensigns, without being subjected to any other examination than that of the board which has passed them through. These must, however, like ensigns appointed by colonels, attend the division-schools, and be examined for lieutenancies; whereas the *selecta* — the most distinguished youths of their standing — are kept one year more at the cadet-house, and acquire all the knowledge, and pass all the examinations there, which are required to secure a lieutenancy. If appointed to the infantry or cavalry, they go at once to their duty. If commissions be given them in the artillery or engineers, it is prefaced by a period more or less extensive of

active service at the head-quarters of a regiment, so that, when they enter the school of united instruction, they apply themselves to subjects of which they have already acquired some practical knowledge. In point of fact, therefore, the early portion of the training required for the special arms in Prussia takes place in separate schools. It is only after they have become practical engineers and artillerists that the officers of these arms pursue together studies that are common to both.

The United Artillery and Engineer School stands in the principal street in Berlin—the Unterderlinden—and is under the management of an officer of artillery or engineers, with a captain, who acts as his adjutant. Three officers of artillery, and one of engineers, assist in maintaining discipline. And there are, for educational purposes, twenty-three professors, of whom twelve are military men. The number of students ranges from two hundred and sixteen to two hundred and forty—they all come from service with troops, except a few members of the *selecta*, and have all undergone, like the aspirants for other arms, a preliminary examination. Indeed, the only difference in this respect between them and other officers lies here—that a more intimate acquaintance with mathematics is expected

of candidates for the artillery and engineers than from youths desirous of serving either in the infantry or the cavalry.

The School of Artillery and Engineers is united so far as regards local situation. Neither the curricula of study, nor the results to which they lead, are exactly the same. The whole course covers three years, during the first of which only, the officers study together. In the second year a partial separation takes place, which becomes complete in the third year. Three months in every year are given up to examinations, and to out-of-doors practical exercises,—only about three weeks, the last in the month of September, are allowed for vacation.

The examinations in this school are conducted by boards; that of the first year by the same which examines for commissions in the line—the Supreme Military Examinations Board; those of the two last by boards specially appointed from the two services. The whole establishment is controlled by a curatorium, consisting of the general inspectors of the corps of artillery and engineers, which, like every other body engaged in the military education of the country, reports to one head —the General Inspector of Military Education.

Artillery officers, having passed through the school, join their battalions as lieutenants, where their promotion goes on regimentally. But they are subjected to a further examination before they can obtain the rank of captain. Lieutenants of engineers, before becoming eligible for promotion, must serve seven years at least, of which three must be spent with a division of their corps, and three in some fortress to superintend the buildings. Both artillery and engineers are eligible, if they desire it, for service on the general staff, to which they with others attain after a course of special training in what is called the War-School.

The War-School of Prussia stands, like the one of which we have been speaking, in Berlin, and is open to officers of every corps who shall have served three years at least with their regiments. The annual vacancies amount to forty, for which an average of sixty or seventy officers compete. The total number of pupils is a hundred and twenty, and the course comprises three years.

There are examinations preliminary to admission, which take place in the chief towns of the provinces where the competitors happen to be quartered. These are conducted entirely in writing, questions being sent by the board of examiners

from Berlin, and answered in the presence of a staff officer, who sees that the candidates have only pens, ink, and paper wherewith to work. The questions being returned with their answers to Berlin, the latter are scrutinised, and the candidates accepted or rejected according to the decision at which the Examinations Board may arrive.

The subjects taught in the Staff-School are either obligatory or optional. Under the former head are included Tactics, Artillery, Field Fortification, Military and Political Administration and Economy, Mathematics, pure and mixed—during the first year. In the second the list comprises Tactics again, Permanent Fortification, Special Geography and Geology, History of War, Staff Duty, Art of Sieges, Military Jurisprudence.

The voluntary studies embrace Universal History, Universal Geography, Physical Geography—for the first year.

Universal History, Mathematics, Logic, Physics, the Horse, General History of Literature, Higher Geodesy, Chemistry—for the second year.

It is worthy of remark, that though the study of these latter subjects be considered as voluntary, they are not overlooked when an estimate of the

merits of individuals is taken, and that, in point of fact, the students never entirely neglect them.

In the War-School as well as elsewhere throughout Prussia, the professorial system of instruction is followed—the students being encouraged not only to take notes while the lectures are delivered, but to fill up and supplement their notes in their own apartments. With this view, examinations of particular papers take place very frequently, which are followed by examinations on a more extended scale once in three months, and again by examinations still more searching at the end of every year; according to the results of which young men are classified.

The staff in Prussia does not, like that in France, form a distinct corps. On the contrary, all officers from all branches of the service may qualify, and are all eligible to staff employment; of which the great advantage is, that, at the end of three years, lieutenants so employed are promoted to be captains. But no man can serve for more than five consecutive years on the staff, without returning for three years at least to regimental duty. It is said that the staff prizes in Prussia are of little value, and that, lists of merit being neither published nor preserved, there is no positive security against the

exercise of favouritism. This is very possible; but when we remember that not only is the topographical department manned exclusively from the staff school, but that officers educated there are employed as professors in all the military seminaries of the country, we shall scarcely come to the conclusion that, on the whole, the staff in the Prussian army is not fostered.

We cannot, within the limits at our disposal, touch at all upon the schools which are maintained in Prussia for the education of non-commissioned officers and of soldiers. It must suffice to state that they are both numerous and admirably managed, and that they all, equally with the schools for officers, carry on their operations under one management—that of the General Inspector of Military Education. To him all the examination boards report; and though the Minister of War regulates every question of finance, on all points relating to instruction and examination, the General Inspector communicates directly with the Sovereign. It is necessary to add, that he is assisted in his operations by a council or supreme board of military studies, which is made up of field officers of the staff, and of the special arms, and of consultative

assessors appointed by the Minister of Worship, and of professors chosen for the purpose.

If there be one institution in Austria which, before all others, deserves to be called national, it is the army. To perfect that in all its branches, and to draw towards it the talent and devotion of every one of the heterogeneous fragments of which the empire is composed, seems to be a leading object of the Government. One of the four coordinate branches of the War-Office is especially entrusted with this duty. It has the management of not less than from three to four hundred thousand pounds annually, and educates free from expense, or very nearly so, five thousand pupils. Nor is this all. The munificence of the Emperor, grants from different provinces, and the gifts and legacies of generous individuals, have founded in Austria numerous exhibitions or bourses, by means of which almost as many more youths receive a gratuitous education, which is conducted throughout on a uniform plan, and seems admirably to effect its purpose. Hence we find that five thousand seven hundred boys, ranging between the ages of seven and fifteen years, are always under training in military schools, in order to fit them for becoming non-commissioned officers; and that four cadet-houses, each

containing two hundred lads, act as feeders to the greater military academies, wherein young men are educated to supply officers to the infantry, the cavalry, the artillery, and the engineers. And not the least striking feature in the case is this—that whereas a large proportion of these young men are unable to defray the expense of their own education, they are educated and maintained either wholly or in part by the State.

The Commissioners seem to think, and we are disposed to agree with them, that the educational department of the Austrian army is the most perfect thing of its kind in Europe. Looking at the purpose which the Government seeks mainly to accomplish, it would be difficult to conceive a machine more skilfully put together, or better fitted to achieve its end. We find it working, always on the side of order, in companies, in battalions, in regiments, in divisions, and always working well. Indeed, it is not too much to say that a force of four hundred thousand men, raised by conscription out of many nations differing among themselves in language, in manners, and often in religion—is almost more completely welded into one by its school system than by anything else. And this admirable system seems to have been devised and perfected within

a space of seven or eight years. We do not mean to say that, previously to the confusion of 1848, there was no such thing as special education in the Austrian army. Since the reign of Maria Theresa, Austria has never been without her military schools, which received from time to time such modifications and additions as to successive monarchs appeared to be desirable. But the changes effected since 1848 amount well-nigh to a revolution, of which the results already show themselves in the practical improvement which is perceptible in every branch of the service.

Austria, like France, raises her army by conscription. Instead, however, of accepting substitutes provided by individuals, she permits each individual to purchase himself off, and applies the smart-money, one hundred and fifty pounds, to the exclusive use of the recruit whom she brings in to take his place. She gives him the interest of this money, additional to his pay, so long as he serves, and hands over to him the principal, wherewith to set up in civil life, when he claims his discharge. The Austrian, like the English soldier, used formerly to be taken for unlimited service; he is now drawn for eight years only, with two years more of liability in the reserve. But if there be no war, nor any prospect of a war,

he may apply for leave to return home at the end of six years, and the boon is seldom refused him.

Promotion from the ranks is not absolutely against the custom of the Austrian army, but it is of rare occurrence except in the artillery, and even in that arm it is much less common than it used to be. It is not, however, impracticable in any branch of the service, and arrangements are in progress with the view, as it would appear, of rendering the custom more frequent. As a general rule, about nineteen out of twenty of the officers of infantry and cavalry make their way into the service as cadets. They are appointed on the nomination of the colonels or proprietors of regiments, though not till after an official inquiry into their previous character and circumstances, and an examination before a board of officers appointed by the general commanding the district within which they reside. So long as they remain in the grade of cadet, these young gentlemen live like private soldiers, and are required to attend a regimental school, into which the most promising of the non-commissioned officers are also admitted. The subjects taught there are, during the first year — 1. The language spoken in the regiment; 2. Arith-

metic; 3. Caligraphy and writing from dictation; 4. Composition on military subjects; 5. Geography and history; 6. Military drawing; 7. Rules and regulations; 8. Fencing, gymnastics, swimming. During the second year, which completes the course, are taught — 1. The language of the regiment; 2. Elementary geometry and practical surveying; 3. Caligraphy; 4. Military composition; 5. Geography and history; 6. Arms and ammunition; 7. Military law; 8. Military drawing on the ground; 9. Pioneering; 10. General rules for campaigning; 11. Fencing, gymnastics, swimming.

A youth must be at least sixteen years of age before he can become a cadet. He may be promoted to a lieutenancy next day, should a vacancy occur; and he may never be promoted at all if there be anything about him which indisposes his brother officers to look upon him with favour. He is not, however, relieved from study when he becomes a lieutenant, but passes into another regimental school, which all subalterns are required to attend, and which holds its sittings for one hour and a half, three days in every week, from the beginning of November to the end of April. Instruction is communicated in this school chiefly by

oral lectures, one of which, on language, may be taken by the regimental chaplain. It includes — 1st, the duties of an officer in every situation, with his regiment and detached — such as the keeping of accounts, making reports, &c. &c.; 2nd, the rules of drill, exercise, and manœuvre; 3rd, the details of arms; 4th, the language spoken in the regiment; 5th, fencing and practice with fire-arms. In cavalry regiments all this instruction goes forward in the School of Equitation; and, to test the proficiency of the pupils, themes are set, on which captains, equally with subalterns, are required to write. The subjects of these themes are strictly professional — such as the mode of handling detachments of troops, composed sometimes of one arm, sometimes of two, and sometimes of more than two arms, under given circumstances, in a campaign. The papers, when completed, are examined by the commanding officer, and by him sent on, through the Brigadier and General of Division, to head-quarters; and the professional prospects of the writer are very much settled according as his essays command the approbation or the censure of his superiors.

We have dwelt somewhat at length on this feature in the Austrian plan, partly because it is

peculiar, and partly because it helps us, in combination with the Division Schools of Prussia, to arrive at a possible issue even richer in promise than either can separately hold out. We must compress what remains to be said of the greater military schools of the Empire into the shortest possible compass. They are, as we have already stated, four in number — one in which candidates for commissions in the infantry and cavalry are educated together — one in which candidates for the artillery are educated — one in which candidates for the engineers are trained — and a staff or war school. We believe that the want of a separate cavalry school has been admitted, and that preparations are making to create one; and that a sort of senior department is in contemplation, where, after completing their separate courses, artillery and engineer officers may prosecute more advanced studies in common. But our present business is only with the establishments which exist; and the narrowing limits at our command warn us to render our account of these as concise as shall be consistent with any degree of perspicuity.

The School of Candidates for Commissions in the Infantry and Cavalry has its seat at Wiener-Neu-

stadt, a small but famous town on the line of railway to Trieste, about thirty miles from Vienna. It accommodates four hundred lads, who enter—one hundred every year,—between the ages of fifteen and sixteen, either from the cadet-houses, of which there are four—at Hamburgh, Marburgh, Cracow, and Strass—or from civil life, after a pretty sharp examination, which is not, however, strictly speaking competitive. The subjects chiefly taught are—Analytical Geometry and Higher Analysis; Mechanics, Spherical Trigonometry; Mathematical Geography and Triangulation; Descriptive Geometry and Surveying; Natural Philosophy and Chemistry; French, Italian, Hungarian, and Bohemian languages; History and Geography; Logic and Psychology; Military Writing; Military Law and Procedure; International Law; Fortification; Architecture; Arms and Munitions; Knowledge of Ground and Position, and Military Drawing. There are the usual accompaniments of drill, equitation, fencing, gymnastics, swimming, &c.; and to the honour of Austria be it added, that religious instruction is not overlooked, from the beginning to the end of the course.

The course itself comprehends four years, during the two first of which theoretical instruction, such

as pure mathematics, is completed. The two last years are devoted entirely to professional study, and there are periodical examinations. The staff of instructors, of government, and of attendance, is enormous — amounting to not fewer than three hundred and eight persons; and sixty-four horses are kept for the use of the students. Of the munificence of the Government we have elsewhere spoken, which, not content to defray, wholly or in part, the cost of maintaining and educating the larger portion of these young men, supplies every officer, when he goes to join an infantry regiment, with a complete outfit. Service in the cavalry appears to be reserved for the sons of men of wealth; they are accordingly supplied only with their horses, and their relatives are required to guarantee to them a certain annual allowance over and above their pay.

The Artillery Academy, situated at Olmutz, is fed partly from the cadet-houses, and partly from school companies, of which four belong exclusively to this arm. It is in the school companies, of which, over and above these four, the Austrian army can boast of not fewer than sixteen, that meritorious soldiers receive such an education as fits them for becoming non-commissioned officers.

And it is the cream of the artillery school companies which send as many as forty pupils into the academy, where, with a hundred and sixty passed on from the cadet-houses, they are trained to become officers. The course of study at Olmutz, like that at Wiener-Neustadt, extends over four years, and the staff is very large. Not fewer than a hundred and ninety-two persons are engaged in the government, and care, and instruction of two hundred students, who receive, in consequence, such an education as is probably not bestowed on any other similar body of young men in the world. We are old enough to remember the time when the Austrian artillery was considered the worst in Europe. It is said now to be making extraordinary strides upwards, and will doubtless, when the new system has had time to develop its energies, take its place in the foremost rank of excellence.

The Engineer Academy at Gnain is recruited from the same sources which send their annual shoals of aspirants to Olmutz. Forty young men come from the school companies of engineers and pioneers, and a hundred and sixty from civil life. There is a preliminary examination for the latter class of candidates, similar, in all respects, to that adopted at Olmutz; and the course extends, as

elsewhere, over four years. Examinations seem to be very frequent, and the curriculum is wisely managed — term after term rendering the instruction more practical, till, in the end, it becomes exactly such as seems best calculated to supply the army with an accomplished body of engineers.

Though the Staff School at Vienna dates no farther back than four years ago, staff employment has, for more than a century, been the prize in the Austrian army of superior attainments, tested by a severe, if not exactly a competitive, examination. The custom was this: Any officer desirous of serving on the staff, applied for a recommendation to the colonel of his regiment, and was sent, when so recommended, to some large garrison-town, where, in company with other candidates, he began a course of staff-study. For two years he was employed in drawing, surveying, writing military memoirs, mapping the country, &c.; and for two years more he served with troops of the several arms on active staff-duty. An examination then took place of all the candidates within the district, before the chief of the staff, and a board of officers nominated to assist him. There is nothing to show that a very accurate record of the results of these examinations was kept, but public opinion justifies

the conclusion that the best of the candidates, in almost every instance, carried off the prize.

There is a distinct staff-corps in Austria, as in France, consisting of a chief, twelve colonels, twelve lieutenant-colonels, twenty-four majors, eighty captains. Besides these, it is settled that there shall be eighty attachés, who shall serve with their respective regiments till vacancies in the staff corps occur. The attachés may be subalterns, but, immediately on acceding to the staff-corps, they receive the rank of captain; and if second-lieutenants when taken into the class of attachés, they are at once promoted to be first-lieutenants.

The staff-corps discharges in the Austrian army all the duties which with us devolve on what is called the general staff, and a great many more, which we, very unfairly, expect our officers of engineers to perform. There is a separate corps of adjutants, or aides-de-camp, who are charged with administrative duties only, for admission into which no examination is required. It consists of eleven generals, eighteen lieutenant-colonels, eighteen majors, ten second-captains, ten first-lieutenants. Generals commanding army corps and divisions are, it appears, allowed to appoint their own adjutants; but if some loophole be left open by this arrange-

ment for the entrance of patronage, nepotism is at all events excluded, for the only restriction placed upon the general is that he shall not on any account select a relative to be his adjutant or aide-de-camp.

Attached to the staff-corps, and in some measure growing out of it, is the corps of geographical engineers — a small band of officers charged with the special duty of reducing maps and plans which staff officers may have drawn. The members of this corps are usually employed on the great surveys of the empire; and having had the opportunity of inspecting many of the maps which owe to them their existence, we can vouch for the accuracy, as well as for the extreme beauty, of their execution.

Preliminary to joining the staff-corps, either as an officer or as an attaché, the candidate must pass two years in the staff-school, to which he is admitted after two years' service with his regiment, provided he be unmarried, and between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-six. The school is small, containing not more than thirty students, of whom fifteen pass out every year. The studies are directed by seven professors, of whom all, except the teacher of French, are military men. The subjects

taught do not appear to be numerous; but they are such as it behoves a staff officer thoroughly to understand. In the first year candidates study — 1. Military drawing and the study of ground; 2. Higher tactics; 3. Staff duties; 4. French language and literature; 5. Riding. The second year is devoted to — 1. Military drawing and the study of ground; 2. Military geography; 3. Principles of strategy as taught by reviews of campaigns; 4. French language and literature; 5. Riding. The entrance examination is strictly competitive, and the place of the officer in the corps is assigned to him on quitting the school according to the estimate which has been formed of his fitness in all respects to serve the State usefully. "We try," said the correspondent of the Commissioners, "to estimate the whole man, whether he will make a good 'Colonnen Führer' (or leader of a column);" a wise method, which, when our own staff-school is formed, cannot be too strongly recommended for imitation to its managers.

It is with extreme regret that we find ourselves compelled to omit all notice of the admirable machinery wherewith the Austrian Government seeks not only to awaken and cultivate the intellects of that large body of men whom it employs as non-

commissioned officers in its army, but to connect the classes of officers and non-commissioned officers together by a chain of sympathy which cannot be broken. We wish that we could even transcribe the chart of Austrian military schools which the Commissioners have appended to their report. It would then be seen at a single glance how, from twelve lower houses of education, in each of which two hundred boys are maintained, four cadet-houses, with their two hundred youths respectively, are fed, and how these four cadet-houses feed in part, though not entirely, four higher academies, of one of which we have taken no notice, because it trains young men for the service of the navy. It would further appear how subordinate to these schools for officers, and by various threads interlaced with them, is established one upper house of education, containing two thousand four hundred aspirant non-commissioned officers, who go off, as circumstances direct, to school companies of the infantry, of the cavalry of the frontier regiments, of the artillery, of the engineers, of the pioneers of the flotilla, and of the marine. Nor must we forget to particularise the normal school which trains at Wiener-Neustadt sixty non-commissioned officers to became teachers in these minor schools. But it

would be hopeless to think of approaching this subject. It is too large to be handled in detail. It is by far too important to bear abridgment. We can only recommend it to the careful study of such of our readers as take any interest in the investigation of a problem, of all that have in modern times occupied the attention of thoughtful men certainly not the least important.

The last continental country visited by the Commissioners was Piedmont, or, as it is called in the report, Sardinia. They appear to have devoted less time to this part of their subject than to others, and to have been less favoured by circumstances. Indeed it would seem, from their account of the matter, that the military institutions of Piedmont are still in a transition state, for which reason, as well as because of the limited scale on which they are framed, they demand but brief notice at our hands. There is at Turin a general military college, into which lads are admitted from fourteen years of age and upwards, and of which the common course comprehends four years, with one additional year for young men selected for the service of the artillery and engineers. Admission to this, the Regia Academia Militare, is by nomination from the Crown; and the establishment, which

appears never to be full, is fixed at two hundred students. About half of these are partially supported by the State, on the principle of the semi-bourses in France, with this marked difference between the two systems, that whereas in France bourses and semi-bourses are thrown open to competition, in Piedmont they are the free gift of the Crown to the sons of men who have served the State faithfully in civil or military life.

Besides the Academia Militare, Piedmont has its practical school of artillery and engineers, to which officers, after receiving their commissions, repair, and in which they are supposed to spend two years. The subjects taught are—1. Mineralogy and metallurgy; 2. Introduction to applied mechanics; 3. Theory of the combustion of gunpowder and projectiles; 4. Use of artillery, construction of batteries, service in the field; 5. Permanent fortification; 6. Military bridges; 7. Artillery material; 8. Manufacture of arms and pyrotechnics. All these are studied in common by officers of artillery and engineers. The latter are specially instructed over and above in—1. Civil and military architecture; 2. Topography; 3. Geology. The artillery and engineer services appear to be great favourites with the Piedmontese, and

are officered chiefly by the more aristocratic classes of society. They are both admirable of their kind. The staff seems to be less sought after; and the education given to candidates for the corps is in consequence less perfect. Indeed, the whole course at the staff-school extends over little more than eleven months, of which six are devoted to theoretical study, and five to practical. Topography and plan-drawing, preceded by the necessary lectures in arithmetic, geometry, and trigonometry, occupy the former of these periods. The latter is devoted to the laws and customs which guide the administration of the army, and to riding.

But the point which most distinguishes the military system of Piedmont from that of other nations is this, that she requires the whole of her officers, except those of the special arms, to spend a year in one or other of the military schools at Ivrea and Pinerol before they can attain the rank of captain. The school of Ivrea is for infantry, that of Pinerol for cavalry; and a mixed class, for the benefit of officers raised from the ranks, has recently been added to the former. Practical subjects are chiefly studied in these schools, as, for example, drill, fencing, exercise with different arms, musketry, regulations and accounts of the army; but topo-

graphy, field-fortification, and the secondary operations of war, are added, in each of which the subaltern, before he is considered eligible for promotion, must pass an examination.

To maintain and render effective the several establishments here enumerated, the four countries visited by the Commissioners submit to a very large outlay. Austria, as we have shown, expends about 400,000*l.* a-year in this manner; of which enormous sum 127,000*l.* appear to be devoted to the education of officers exclusively. In France the annual expenditure amounts to 72,000*l.*, of which 42,000*l.* are absorbed by the education of officers alone; while in Prussia, a much poorer country than France, the training of officers requires the outlay of 26,000*l.*

Many causes have combined to render us as a people too long indifferent, we had almost said averse, to the systematic education of our officers. Our insular situation is one of these, which, as it seems to guard us against the risk of invasion from abroad, so it makes us undervalue the importance of almost all other military virtues than courage. That constitutional jealousy of standing armies, which even now can scarcely be said to be extinct among us, is another. But perhaps the most in-

fluential of the whole has heretofore been our steady adherence to the purchase system, which, while it brings military rank, so to speak, like any other commodity, into the market, so it seems to give to the youth who has invested a portion of his capital in that speculation, the same right to his commission which the merchant has to the profit of his trade. Now we hope and believe that this delusive notion, at least, is beginning to pass away. The honour to command her Majesty's troops may surely be dispensed by the Sovereign on any conditions which to the Crown may seem best; nor will the aspirant have the smallest right to complain when there is exacted from him, over and above the market price of a commission, a fair amount of information, professional as well as general. Indeed, this point was fully conceded, when, in 1848, the celebrated order of the late illustrious Duke of Wellington, of which we have elsewhere spoken, made its appearance. Yet what have we done in consequence of that order? Nothing.

There exist in this country three military seminaries — the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where youths are educated for service in the Artillery and Engineers; the Royal Military College at Sandhurst, where cadets are prepared for

the Infantry and Cavalry; and the Honourable East India Company's Military School at Addiscombe, which educates simultaneously for the Artillery, Engineers, and Infantry services of the three Presidencies. Supplementary to these are the School of Practical Instruction at Chatham, where passed cadets from Woolwich and Addiscombe learn practical engineering: and the senior department at Sandhurst, supposed to be a Staff school, into which officers of infantry and cavalry are, under certain restrictions, admitted. It will be necessary to a right understanding of much which is to follow, that we endeavour to draw out for our readers a sketch of the history and actual condition of these several seminaries. But as, one and all, they are admitted to stand sorely in want of revision, the sketch need not be either very full or very much in detail.

The Military Academy at Woolwich came into existence in the year 1741. It was created by George II., to supply a want under which the English army then suffered, by giving some instruction in matters connected with their respective arts to officers and men who served in the Artillery and in the Engineers. Its beginnings were of the humblest imaginable order. A single room in a house at

Woolwich, where the Board of Ordnance used occasionally to assemble, was set apart by Government as a hall of study; and two masters were appointed to give lectures by rotation, during four consecutive hours, in three days of every week. At first only the officers of the single battalion composing the English Artillery and of the corps of Engineers were required to attend. By-and-by the room was thrown open to non-commissioned officers and privates also, and eventually the cadets, of whom five were supposed to be on the strength of each company of artillery, repaired thither in like manner. But the cadets being the sons of the officers of the corps, as they neither dressed in uniform, nor were under any military control, proved very difficult to manage; and the difficulty led to a great change as well in their condition as in that of the Academy itself.

In the year 1744 the cadets were, for the first time, clothed in uniform, and collected into a distinct company. Two officers, with a drum-major, undertook the management of them; and the arrangement worked, or was supposed to work, so satisfactorily that by little and little, as the regiment enlarged itself, the numbers composing the Cadet Company were increased also. In 1782 they

had grown from twenty to sixty; in 1798 to a hundred; after which, steps were taken to lodge and board, as well as to educate and drill them, apart from the residences of their fathers. Hence, after trying for awhile to accommodate some in a separate barrack, while others were billeted on private persons at a payment of 2*s.* a-day per head, the pile which now attracts the attention of the passer-by on Woolwich Common was erected. And by the addition of a lieutenant-governor, and a whole host of officers and professors, it grew into the sort of establishment which is familiar to most of us. In 1806 the staff of officers and teachers appointed to the Cadet Company consisted of—

1. Lieutenant-Governor.
2. Inspector.
3. Professor of Mathematics.
4. Professor of Fortification.
5. Mathematical Master.
6. Arithmetical do.
7. French do.
8. Fortification do.
9. Landscape-drawing Master.
10. Figure-drawing do.
11. Second French do.
12. Fencing do.
13. Dancing do.
14. First Modeller.
15. Second do.
16. Clerk.

In 1829 the fencing and dancing masters were discontinued, and a chemical lecturer appointed. In 1836 three new masters were added; and in 1857 the staff stood thus:—

Military.

A Governor.
One Second Captain, commanding.
One do. for Practical Class.
Four First-Lieutenants.
One Quartermaster.
One Staff-Sergeant.
Seven Drill-Sergeants.
One Paymaster's Clerk.
One Assistant do.
Servants.

Civil or Educational.

A Chaplain.
Inspector — a Lieut.-Col. of Artillery.
Assistant do. — Major, R.E.
Professor of Fortification—Lieut.-Col., R.E.
Two Assistants — Second Captains.
Professor of Mathematics.
Seven Mathematical Masters.
Master of Descriptive Geometry.
Master for Geometrical Drawing.
Drawing-Master for Landscape.
Second do.
Master for Military Plan-Drawing — Brevet-Major, R.A.
Instructor in Surveying and Field-Works — Captain, R.E.
Assistant do. — Captain, R.A.
Instructor in Practical Artillery — Second Captain, R.A.
Assistant do. — Second Captain, R.A.
Four French Masters.
Four German do.
Master for History and Geography.
Lecturer in Chemistry.
Assistant to do.
Lecturer in Geology and Mineralogy.
Lecturer in Practical Mechanics, Machinery, and Metallurgy.

Lecturer in Astronomy and Natural Philosophy.
Clerk.
First Assistant do. — a Sergeant.
Second do. — Bombardier.
One Drill-Sergeant — Practical Class.
Modeller, Smith, Servants, &c.

Admittance to the Academy was, till very lately, obtained only on the nomination of the Master-General of the Ordnance. There was a preliminary examination, it is true; but this, all except the dullest, might calculate on passing, and the ages of entrance ranged between fourteen and sixteen. In 1835 the minimum age was raised to fifteen, the maximum to seventeen; while candidates were called up to compete for admission in the proportion of four youths for every three vacancies. The arrangement did not avail to produce any radical change in the spirit of the institution. The preliminary examination still proved to be a "pass," and no more; and so it continued till those political views obtained the ascendant which abolished altogether the office of Master-General and Board of Ordnance, and gave us in their place a Secretary of State for the War Department.

Occasions had arisen, even under the old regime, when young men were permitted to enter the service of the Artillery under what may be called ex-

ceptional conditions. During the pressure of the great war of the French Revolution, the demand for officers became at one time so urgent, that it was found necessary to dispense with a regular academical education, and to give commissions to candidates who were pronounced by competent examiners sufficiently conversant with mathematics and physical science to enter upon the practical duties of their profession. Lord Panmure, taking advantage of the precedent thus furnished, threw open Artillery commissions in 1855, and has continued ever since to treat admission into the Royal Military Academy as a prize for which the youth of the United Kingdom may freely compete. For reasons to be stated by and by, we cannot say that the plan appears to us to be either good in itself, or suited to the social and political condition of this country. But it is in popular favour for the moment, and will doubtless continue to be acted upon till the time arrives for settling on a right principle the educational arrangements connected with our whole military system.

The subjects of study to be pursued in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, not less than the mode of dealing with them, and the text-books to be used, have hitherto been prescribed to the most

minute particular by regulation. They embrace Mathematics, Fortification, Descriptive Geometry, French, German, Plan Drawing, Geometrical Drawing, Landscape Drawing, History and Geography; to which, during his continuance in what are called the "theoretical classes," the attention of the cadet is confined. When he enters the "practical class," the student is instructed, over and above, in Practical Artillery, Surveying and Field-works, and attends lectures in Astronomy, Chemistry, Geology, and Mineralogy. As many as five years may be spent by a young man in going over this course — viz. four years in the "theoretical" and one year in the "practical" class—though the average period of actual residence does not appear to exceed two years and a half or three years. There are periodical examinations at the end of every half-year, the second of which, by its results, determines whether the young man shall be allowed to go on to a commission, or be removed from the Academy.

The moral tone of this military college has never, we regret to say, been of a very high order. Excellent men have been at the head of it, and the ability of the professors and teachers appointed to instruct, admits of no question. Yet few right-minded officers look back upon the years spent in

the cadet barracks except with disgust. It is not very difficult to account for the circumstance. Long after continental nations had seen the absurdity of pressing upon boys the sort of training which belongs to men, we refused to be guided by their experience, and persisted, both at Woolwich and elsewhere, in our endeavour to accomplish an impossibility. "Boys of fourteen, fifteen, and sixteen," says a high authority on this subject, "require much personal supervision, in order to form their characters, which young officers, very often appointed without any sufficient knowledge of their tempers and habits, cannot be expected to bestow. Such officers may indeed be able to superintend drill, but not moral training. Rarely do they draw the cadets towards them and become their advisers; more frequently repel them by a harsh dictatorial manner, the cadet being in their eyes a soldier. There has been also, during all the time I have known the Academy, great inconsistency in treating the cadets. Honour is constantly talked of, and yet doubts as to their truthfulness are not unfrequently expressed. I have heard even the lie given in rough and emphatic terms. Confidence is professedly placed, and yet offences are found out in a way that shows that no confidence

existed. Hence a contest arises between the officer and cadet, and the latter becomes tricky and disingenuous."*

In these emphatic words Colonel Portlock has struck at the root of most of the evil which has long been felt, and heretofore combated without success, in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Whatever is wanting in the *morale* of that establishment, it owes to the original sin of its constitution. We know how to deal with boys so long as we recognise their boyhood, even while appealing to the point of honour among them. But we no sooner dress them up in uniform, and affect to treat them as soldiers, than we lose all moral control over them. They smoke, drink, swear, and fall into other vices, not because they are overcome by any irresistible temptation, but because they look upon such acts as tokens of manhood. And the corporals, who report readily enough for insubordination, and the officers, who punish for what they call military offences, take little heed of worse things; partly because, in a military point of view,

* Let us not be misunderstood. The moral tone at Woolwich has not heretofore been what could be wished; but as compared with that of the Polytechnic, or any other military school on the Continent, it is purity itself.

they are scarcely criminal; partly because, not being regarded as such, they are seldom brought under the notice of the superior authorities. How a seminary so conducted and so managed should have given to the Artillery and Engineers, a body of officers distinguished, as those of both arms unquestionably are, for talent, intelligence, and gentlemanly bearing, would be inexplicable, were not the fact well known, that one of the first lessons taught to the young lieutenant, after quitting the Academy, is to throw off the habits which he had contracted there, and to adopt the high moral tone and excellent tastes of his regiment.

It was partly with a view to provide a palliative for this admitted evil, partly to encourage in our young artillery officers the habit of sustained study, that they were required, by a recent regulation, "to place themselves under the orders of a director of studies for half a year after obtaining their commissions. Meanwhile cadets who are appointed to the Engineers proceed to the training-school for that arm at Chatham; where they go through a somewhat careful course of surveying, and are instructed less elaborately in architecture, civil as well as military, and in mining, sapping, pontooning, and so forth. According to the report of the

Commissioners, it does not appear that they reach their new field of instruction over and above well prepared to make the most of it. Indeed, the whole of the Woolwich system is by these gentlemen condemned in terms as decided as is consistent with good-breeding.

"There is," say the Commissioners, "some reason to believe that the results of the education at the Royal Military Academy have hitherto somewhat failed of that success which might have been hoped for, both as regards artillery and engineer officers. We do not find, from the replies we have received from artillery officers, any specific mention of deficiencies in the education of the young officers when they join their regiment at Woolwich; but it is unquestionable that serious complaints have been made, of late years, by some of the officers of that corps. In the case of the Engineers, according to the evidence we have received, the attainments of the young officers, when they join at Chatham from Woolwich Academy, are not such as might have been expected: either the instruction is not exactly what it should be—some break in its continuity occurs—or the mass of the young officers have not fully mastered the knowledge which has been imparted to them."

We believe this judgment to be correct; and are further of opinion that the shortcomings, intellectual as well as moral, which it condemns, cannot be made good by any mere tampering with the institution as it is. Wherefore we pass on to a consideration of its sister establishment, the Royal Military College at Sandhurst.

It was not till the year 1804 that the propriety of training young men in ever so slight a degree for the service of the infantry and cavalry, seems to have occurred to any statesman or soldier in this country. Appointments to both arms took place for a time by purchase only, and by and by, when the numbers of the rank and file increased, through the weight of influence, personal, political, or social. Moreover, when the pressure of the great war was at its height, a third door of entrance to military rank was opened, and ensigncies and captaincies, and even lieutenant-colonelcies became the prize of private gentlemen who were able to bring certain fixed contingents of able-bodied men under the royal standard. So far as the candidates for commissions themselves were concerned, however, the same even-handed justice was meted out to all. Nobody took the trouble to inquire whether the candidate were qualified morally, intellectually, or

physically. He might be a pimp and blockhead, or lame, or deaf, or blind; but so long as his patron had the ear of the Government, or the men whom he brought with him were able to pass muster, his commission, whatever it might be, was secure. If any of our readers care to turn up the pages of Fielding or Smollett, they will find very faithful representations there of the style of lieutenant and led-captain which was common in the days of the first two Georges, while living specimens of what the militia produced in the reigns of the last two sovereigns of that name, may still be seen, bending beneath the weight of years and imbecility, in the country towns both of England and Ireland.

To Frederick Duke of York the merit is due of having introduced many reforms into the military institutions of this country. Among these it would be unjust not to particularise the foundation of the Royal Military College. The object sought to be attained by it was worthy of all praise; and if it failed to achieve that object, the blame may fairly be divided between the mistaken ideas of the age, in regard to what was required in such institutions, and the subsequent indifference of the nation to the real wants of its army. The Military College consisted at first, as it still consists, of two depart-

ments — one, called the Junior Department, for cadets — the other, the Senior Department, for officers desirous of qualifying for the Staff. But it had, in its original constitution, this marked advantage over the arrangement which has since been effected, that whereas now cadets and officers occupy portions of the same range of buildings, and come under the instruction of the same professors, they were, in 1804, placed, the one at Marlow, the other at High Wycombe—each class of students having its own teachers, though both were subject to the control and management of the same military administration.

As first constituted, the junior department afforded both an asylum and a place of education for the sons of officers exclusively. Youths once admitted ceased to be a burthen to their friends, except for the necessary expenses of travelling; they were housed, clothed, and educated at the public expense. But no sooner was the great war ended than Parliament began to slacken in its gratitude to the army, and by little and little the grants for military education fell off, till in the end they ceased altogether. As a necessary consequence, the numbers of persons seeking education at the Military College fell off in like manner. And now the junior

department exhibits a muster-roll of one hundred and eighty cadets only, while the strength of the senior department has dwindled to nine individuals. To be sure, other causes than the withdrawal of public support from the institution have operated to produce this latter result. Whatever it might have been forty years ago, the senior department at Sandhurst is certainly no staff school now. Indeed, the only science effectively taught there seems to be mathematics; and it is a curious fact, that though the army abounds with officers who have passed through that school, and taken high honours, the instances are rare in which staff appointments have fallen to the lot of any of them.

Lads are admitted into the junior department at Sandhurst between the ages of thirteen and fifteen. The preliminary examination is of the most trivial kind, and the instruction communicated is, for half the course, that of a common school not of the highest order. No doubt, each youth may, if he be disposed, master more than the elements of a good deal of science; for over and above physical geography and history, instruction is given in practical astronomy, dynamics, and statics, practical mechanics, co-ordinate geometry, the differential and integral calculus, trigonometry and mensuration,

Euclid's geometry, attack and defence of fortresses, practical field-fortification, course of military surveying, the Latin, French, and German languages. Unfortunately, however, there is no compulsion to study, nor any inducement, unless the youth aspire to win for himself a commission without purchase. And even then, the mode of testing his merit by successive examinations, each on a different subject, well-nigh insures his having forgotten, about the middle of the second term, all that he had sapped up and passed creditably in at the end of the first. Besides, Sandhurst is not to the Line what Woolwich is to the Artillery and Engineers, the single avenue through which young men may enter the army. By far the larger number of the cadets obtain their commissions, by purchase or otherwise, without completing their course, while the proportion of candidates for commissions who enter at Sandhurst at all is scarcely as one to six of such as are appointed direct from civil life.

It would be an impertinent interference with our readers' time, if, under circumstances like these, we were to bore them with a detailed account of the Royal Military College: we shall have said enough about it, in both its departments, when we observe that it neither exercises, nor, in the nature

of things, can exercise, any beneficial influence whatever in giving a tone to the army. We obtain from it neither our staff nor our regimental officers. The former come to us at random,—as aides-de-camp, through the good-will of general officers to their own sons, or to the sons of their connections; as military secretaries, brigade-majors, adjutant and quartermaster-generals, through the kindness of the Commander-in-Chief to personal friends, or to the relatives of ladies or gentlemen possessing political or other influence. The latter owe their sword-knots, in a large majority of cases, to the length of their own or their fathers' purses —in a minority, to the merits of their relatives, social or professional, or to their own. But all alike, up to the present hour, have entered upon the discharge of their duties without the smallest care taken to ascertain whether they be qualified, either physically or morally, to bear the burthen which military rank imposes upon them; and all alike win their way from step to step, by dint of money and what is called interest at the Horse-Guards.

The last military educational establishment which we have undertaken to notice is the Hon. East India Company's College at Addiscombe; of which it is but fair to state, that, bating one grievous defect,—

with which, by the by, Woolwich is equally chargeable,—it approaches nearer in its constitution and objects to what a military school ought to be, than any other of which we can boast in this country. It came into existence in 1818, previously to which date the Directors were in the habit of sending to Woolwich, for instruction, youths to whom they had given cadetships in the Company's Artillery and Engineers. When first founded, it was intended as a place of training exclusively for these young gentlemen; but the benefits derived from it became so obvious and so great that the Court of Directors gradually enlarged its views, and now young men are educated at Addiscombe not only for the Company's Artillery and Engineers, but for their Infantry also. And herein it is that the Directors have mixed up evil with good. They consider an engineer cadetship as their great prize, and next to that a cadetship of artillery; and they select for these appointments, not the youths who may have exhibited special talents for either arm, but the best men, or the men reported as generally best, of their batch. The consequence is, that to the Infantry—for good service in which talent is as much required as for either the Artillery or Engineers—the idlers of the College are

appointed, while many a clever lad, who would have shone as an infantry officer, becomes an indifferent engineer or gunner, simply because he has been posted to an arm for the practical operation of which he has no genius.

In all other respects the Military School at Addiscombe may be fairly said to surpass both Woolwich and Sandhurst. In the first place, youths enter there almost invariably at a more mature age. Though eligible for admission after completing their fifteenth year, they seldom, if ever, come up for examination till they have turned seventeen. In the next place, the entrance examination is more severe than either at Woolwich or Sandhurst; and in the third and last place—and this is the most important condition of the whole—cadets must complete their course at Addiscombe in two years, unless for special reasons, such as sickness, they be allowed to prolong their stay one half-year more. Now, lads may linger on at Woolwich four, and even five years, gaining this remarkable advantage from their stupidity, that when forced to compete at last for choice between Artillery and Engineers, they compete with youths who may have had but two years' training. And at Sandhurst, the course which nominally

covers four years, may, if the youth have interest at head-quarters, be completed, as far as his appointment to a commission completes it, in four months.

The general education given at Addiscombe is certainly not inferior to that which the cadets receive either at Woolwich or at Sandhurst. It embraces, indeed, almost entirely the same subjects which are set down in the curriculum of the others —including lectures in geology, chemistry, and artillery. But it undeniably falls short in specialities. Hence, after completing his course at Addiscombe, the Company's cadet intended for the Engineers proceeds to Chatham, where, side by side with young men from Woolwich, he receives practical instruction in his art. For the Artillery cadet, on the other hand, there is no practical school. Like his comrade intended for the service of the Infantry, he proceeds at once from Addiscombe to India, and learns there how to turn to account the theoretical lessons which have been communicated to him at home.

Another distinction deserves to be noted between the constitution of the school of Addiscombe and that as well of the Royal Military College as of the Royal Military Academy. Though all alike put from them the eleemosynary element, at Addis-

combe alone is strict impartiality in the matter of payments observed. The youth who enters there, whether he be the son of an earl or of a subaltern's widow, must be provided with his hundred pounds a year, besides about twenty-five pounds more to cover the cost of books, instruments, and uniforms. Both at Woolwich and Sandhurst there is a graduated scale, which exacts more from a general officer than from a subaltern, and more from a civilian than from either. The orphan of an officer dying in poor circumstances is admitted into Woolwich on payment of twenty pounds a year. He pays for similar privileges at Sandhurst forty pounds. The son of a gentleman in civil life pays in both cases one hundred and twenty-five pounds, a sum more than adequate to cover the expenses of his own board and education, but which is exacted in order that there may be a surplus out of which the deficiencies occasioned by the payments of the sons of officers shall be made good.

It will be collected, from the manner in which we have expressed ourselves while describing these seminaries, that in our opinion they by no means come up to the point of excellence which it is desirable they should attain. We would not, indeed, be understood as passing upon them all one sweep-

ing sentence of condemnation; but, starting as they do from a false principle, and halting, so to speak, between obsolete and modern usages, the good which they accomplish they achieve at random, and in the face of difficulties which, among any other people than ourselves, would prove insurmountable. Besides, they are not interwoven as they ought to be with the heart of our military system. They affect it only in its extremities, touching the subsidiary arms of the service, and these alone. Neither our infantry nor our cavalry, nor the general staff of the army at large, derives from them the slightest benefit; for Sandhurst counts as nothing, and can never count for more so long as it remains on its present unsatisfactory footing. It appears therefore to us—and the country, we believe, has arrived at the same conclusion—that whatever remedies are applied to the evils of which we complain, must go to the root of them; that every officer of every arm must hereafter be required to give proof that he is qualified to discharge the duties of the station to which he has attained; and that to enable him to do this, arrangements must be made for bringing the means of acquiring a fair share of professional knowledge within the reach of all classes.

And here we must begin by deprecating anything like an attempt to form establishments for military education in this country, on the scale and after the model of those which the continental nations have set up. For reasons stated at the beginning of this paper, we hold it to be neither practicable nor desirable to copy either from France or from Prussia, from Austria or from Sardinia, in the lump. The army can never become among us more than an adjunct to our national institutions — a mere excrescence growing out of them. It must always be numerically small; it can never hold out, in a pecuniary point of view, such prizes to be competed for as shall induce talent of the highest order, combined with other and not less necessary qualifications, to seek employment therein to any large extent. Some youths you will indeed find to whom nature has given a military genius, and who, indifferent to other considerations, will under any circumstances enter the army. But these form rare exceptions to the general rule, which impels men to adopt a profession either because it holds out to them a fair prospect of pecuniary independence, or on account of the social status which is secured by it. At present the British army stands towards the British public in the latter of these

relations. Its officers, especially in the subaltern ranks, are miserably paid; and the highest prize to which, after forty or fifty years' service, they can look forward, is a regiment with an annuity of 600*l.* or 800*l.* a year. It is not, therefore, the money value of a commission, but something appertaining to it, beyond the power of money to command, which brings forward so many candidates for cornetcies and ensigncies, even when they are put up to sale. Now, we have no wish to see the nature of the connection between the British nation and its military officers changed in this respect. We think that it is at once the most honourable and the least expensive that could be devised. It gives us precisely that arrangement which, in a constitutional country, is best calculated to render an armed force not only effective but safe. We have the officers taken principally from those classes in civil life which, being accustomed from their boyhood to command, command in a generous spirit, and the ranks filled with men who, being accustomed from their boyhood to obey, render a willing obedience to those whom they acknowledge as their social superiors. The former, connected by the ties of relationship with the rank, the wealth, and the more advanced intelligence of

the country, can be relied upon under all circumstances to maintain order and obey the laws. The latter, constrained to look up to their officers as much by private feeling and association as through the force of discipline, never think of entertaining opinions of which their officers disapprove. But if you bring about a violent change in all this, you must make up your minds to at least the chance of disagreeable consequences. Adopt, for example, the competitive system, and carry it to the extent to which it is carried in France, with bourses and demi-bourses, and outfits, and so forth, and what will follow? No doubt you may secure for the military service of the country as great a share of aggregate ability, with more extensive information and habits of study, than are now to be found among the officers of the army. But you will find these things among young men taken from a totally different class; the clever and industrious sons of tradesmen and artisans—ushers at schools—poor students at Trinity College, Dublin—servitors at Cambridge, and such like, to whom the prospect of 5*s.* 3*d.* a day is the prospect of wealth, and who will work hard in order to realise it. And to this you will speedily be brought, if, as in France, you make your test mainly a mathematical one. For

our own parts we should deeply lament such a state of things, which, we regret to learn, has followed to a considerable extent on the adoption of the competitive system at Woolwich, and which, if it prevailed throughout other branches of the service, could not fail of effecting such a moral and social revolution as would disconnect the army, in a very short time, from the general sympathies of the country.

For the same reason — viz. because we do not desire to see the British army officered largely by poor men—we must enter our protest against the establishment, at the public expense, of bourses, or demi-bourses, in our military colleges. There can be no reason why laws should be enacted to prevent individuals from founding in these colleges, as they do at Oxford and Cambridge, scholarships and fellowships, if their benevolence take that turn; and when our military colleges come to be placed on a proper footing, we do not doubt that, from time to time, such foundations will occur. But on every principle of political economy we must raise our voice against the proposal to do for the military profession, at the expense of the State, what the State never has done and and never will do for other liberal professions. It is perfectly right that

the public should provide schools for young men who are ambitious to serve in the army; that the material buildings to accommodate these students should be erected at the public expense, and that an adequate staff of professors and instructors should be provided for them. It is proper also that the expenses to the students of residence and tuition should be settled at a scale as moderate as shall be consistent with propriety. But we see no reason at all why the British public is to be taxed for the maintenance of pupils in military more than in other schools, or the British army officered by State paupers, because the governments of France and Austria find it convenient so to officer their armies. What we want in this country is not to divert from the service the ambition of that class of young men who have heretofore supplied us with our most dashing officers, but to awaken in them an honourable determination to distinguish themselves as much by their professional knowledge as by their gallantry; and any scheme which shall seek another object than this, will, in our opinion, prove as fatal to the tone of the army itself as it will be at variance with the spirit of the constitution under which the army exists.

This is not the occasion on which to discuss

the merits of that twofold system of administration under which the British army is managed. The subject is too important to be touched upon incidentally, and by far too large, in every sense of the term, to admit of discussion, except in detail. For our present purpose it will suffice to take the army as we find it — commanded, so far as discipline and military arrangements are concerned, by a General holding a permanent commission from the Crown, and controlled and directed in its finance, and to an extent very imperfectly defined throughout all its departments, by a Secretary of State for War. The latter functionary, as we need hardly point out, is the mere creature of a parliamentary majority. Though appointed by the Crown, he holds office only so long as the general views of the Cabinet, of which he is a member, are in accord with those of the Houses of Lords and Commons. And there is not only no guarantee that he himself shall be an experienced officer, but there is nothing to insure that, previously to his acceptance of office, he shall ever have been present at the mounting of a corporal's guard, or have any acquaintance, however limited, with military matters.

Lord Panmure's Commissioners, finding that in

other countries military education is under the control of the Minister of War, recommend that a similar method of management should be adopted in this country. They accordingly suggest the formation of a board or section of military education at the War Office, by means of which military education itself may be brought under the control of one head — the Secretary of State for War. If the Secretary of State for War were among us, as he is in France and Austria, a permanent officer of the Crown, we should give our hearty concurrence to this suggestion. Under any circumstances, the financial arrangements incident to the establishment of a settled scheme must be managed at his office; and the system would be greatly simplified were it possible to conduct, under his superintendence, all the details of education itself. But this we hold to be impossible — first, because the Secretary of State has no voice whatever in appointing to the general staff of the army, or in promoting its officers; and next, because uniformity of plan and steadiness of execution, in an office of which the head is liable to constant changes, seem to be out of the question. Doubtless the members of the Educational Board need not, like their chief, be required to go out with every change of Ministers;

and, so far as the details of work are concerned, they may be able to keep the machine going quite as conveniently during an interregnum as at any other season. But are we not placed by this arrangement between the horns of a dilemma? If the Board be authorised to work without constant reference to the Secretary of State for War, will it not become, in point of fact, master of the occasion? If the Secretary of State alone have authority to direct, improve, and alter, are we not liable to have a new system brought in with the accession of every new Minister to office? Nor is this all. Suppose the Commander-in-Chief were to refuse, on military grounds, to enforce obedience to some of the rules propounded by the Secretary of State, where are we then? We have reason to believe that the management of regimental schools by the War-Office, and still more, the direct control over the education of the special corps assumed by the Secretary of State for War, have been attended with some inconveniences. Had there been less of forbearance and consideration on all sides, these inconveniences would have been largely increased. We cannot see how the machine is to work at all if some voice, at least, in managing the education of officers, be not allowed to the Commander-in-Chief.

And if it be found necessary to trust that high functionary in part, we believe that it will be found most convenient under the circumstances to trust him wholly. Agreeing, therefore, with the Commissioners that "it is of the first importance that military education in this country should be regarded as a whole, and that perfect unity of system and harmony in its working should be made to prevail," we are of opinion that the Board of Education which they propose to establish should be made responsible for the present to the Commander-in-Chief; and that through this Board the Commander-in-Chief should superintend and manage all the schools and educational establishments in the army, as well those which already exist at Chelsea, in the Phœnix Park, and in regiments, as others of which it remains to speak, and of which we must be content to speak very briefly.

It is satisfactory to know that the opinions here expressed are held, in common with thoughtful persons out of doors, by the highest military authorities. After a good deal of controversy and hesitation, the inevitable result of our mixed system of government at head-quarters, a military commission has been appointed under the presidency of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief,

with instructions from the Crown to prepare a plan for the better education of officers of all arms, and especially of the Staff. We had hoped that ere this the Commission, by making its report, would have enabled us, and others who take an interest in the subject, to come to some conclusions as to the wisdom of the course which is suggested for adoption; but so much delay has occurred (on the causes of which we offer no opinion, because we are in total ignorance regarding them), that we begin to be apprehensive lest difficulties more serious than were anticipated may have opposed themselves to the adjustment of this important matter.

Under these circumstances we cannot but hope that a concise enunciation of views, not hastily taken up, may be useful to all parties, even if it serve no other purpose than to show in what channel the thoughts of persons not unaccustomed to consider such matters have for some time past been running.

Though we are not of opinion that in this country every aspirant for a commission should pass through a military school, we are satisfied that means should be adopted to ensure, that only such as have received the benefit of a good education,

and are possessed of fair abilities, with an average power of mental application, shall enter the army as commissioned officers. The scale of educational merit must of course vary, according as it is applied to a candidate from civil life or to a non-commissioned officer. From the latter no more ought to be expected than he may have found an opportunity of learning in the regimental school. But the former should be subjected to an examination, of the nature and extent of which, a better notion will be formed, after we shall have spoken of the particular institution from which, in its details, it ought to be reflected.

To manage this matter — to conduct the entrance-examinations of candidates from civil life into the army, as well as to superintend all the educational establishments connected with the army itself — four officers, distinguished for their professional acquirements, should be selected; one from each of the great branches of the service — the infantry, the cavalry, the artillery, and the engineers. That they may carry sufficient weight with them in the profession, their rank should be that of colonel or lieutenant-colonel at the least; and a general officer of practical experience — a man of ready business habits and well-known accomplishments, should be

nominated to preside over them. To a board so constituted, a secretary, likewise a military man, should be appointed; and it would not be amiss if two or three civilians were added—men eminent in science and in literature—not as constituent members of the board, but as assessors, to assist in conducting the non-professional parts of examinations. With this board, through its secretary, every person engaged in any way with the education of the army should communicate; the board, in its turn, reporting to the Commander-in-Chief, and, if thought desirable, in duplicate to the Secretary of State also.

We require, in this country, over and above an institution hereafter to be specified, five military schools or colleges:—1st. A preliminary college for aspirants generally, whether they seek commissions in the Line or in the special corps. 2nd. A cavalry school. 3rd. A school of practical application for artillery. 4th. A school of practical application for engineers. 5th. A staff school.

The four first of these should be open indifferently to young men intended for the Queen's and the Company's service. The fifth or staff school need not, for obvious reasons, be framed on a scale more extensive than shall supply the wants

of the Queen's service only. For so long as the Queen's and Company's armies continue to be distinct, the latter ought to establish and maintain staff schools of its own, which, to render them generally useful, should be placed, one at some convenient spot in each of the Presidencies.

Looking to the requirements of the two services, we should fix the permanent establishment of our preliminary college at four hundred students. This would leave ample room for entrance into both the Queen's and Company's armies from civil life, while at the same time it enabled us to exact from civilian candidates, before passing them, a sufficient amount both of general and special information. For while the Government abstains from forcing all aspirants through the same groove into the military service, it is bound to hold the balance evenly between such as avail themselves of the educational establishments which it recognises and such as prefer or find it more convenient to be educated elsewhere. The same measure of intellectual fitness should therefore be applied to both; and the better to ensure that there shall be time enough to learn all that will be required, no youth should be permitted to hold a commission till he had completed the eighteenth year of his age.

To place our preliminary college on a sound footing, a sufficient staff of governors and professors ought to be appointed. We should be inclined also to adopt the system of repetition or authorised coaching, which works so satisfactorily in the Polytechnic; and, choosing our professors from among the officers of the army itself, to employ indifferently civilians or military men as *répétiteurs*. Such an arrangement would enable us to unite the departments of government and tuition, which in foreign seminaries, are usually kept distinct—a measure not only judicious in an economical point of view, but, as all experience proves, better suited than any other to our insular habits of thought. For, neither neglecting those exercises which give strength and flexibility to the muscles, nor overlooking the good effects of an early inurement to military discipline, we desire this college to become rather a school wherein the mental faculties of its inmates shall be enlarged, than a place which shall turn out precocious martinets in points of military costume, or even of drill. It appears, then, to us, that the staff of the college would not be too large were it fixed at some such scale as the following:—A commandant, a colonel of infantry; a second in command, a major; four captains, eight lieutenants,

sixteen *répétiteurs*, one adjutant; one sergeant-major, one riding-master, who might also instruct in gymnastics and swimming; four drill-sergeants.

The duties of the commandant and second in command are obvious enough. They should administer the general discipline of the place. The captains and lieutenants should give instruction to their classes in the lecture-rooms, and command their companies and subdivisions on the parade-ground. The functions of the *répétiteurs* require no particular explanation. The adjutant, assisted by the sergeant-major and sergeants, should instruct in drill; the riding-master attend to his own duties in the riding-school and elsewhere, which a stud of perhaps fifty horses, with cavalry soldiers to attend to them, would enable him to do. Finally, there would be required a surgeon, a chaplain, a house-steward and secretary, one or more clerks, and as many domestic servants as might be considered necessary to meet the exigencies of the case. This is a large staff, which it is very possible that the annual board of four hundred students at fifty pounds a piece would scarcely support. But twenty thousand pounds a year will go a great way in maintaining any educational establishment; and whatever might be wanting, the country would not

grudge to supply, provided it were satisfied of the excellence of the institution to which it was called upon to contribute.

We do not think that admission into this college should take place under the age of sixteen, or that it should be set up as a prize to be competed for by all comers, or that inducements to enter should be offered in the shape of bourses and outfits. At all events, for the reasons assigned elsewhere, we object to such bourses and outfits at the public expense. The principle on which youths are now admitted into Sandhurst, and appointed directly to the army, by purchase or otherwise, seems, of all that could be devised, the most in agreement with the social habits and civil institutions of this country. There must be some guarantee that young men, desirous of holding military commissions, deserve on other than intellectual grounds the confidence of the Crown; and the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief seems to be the best that could be devised. On the other hand, it is but just to guard against the abuse of patronage even by the Commander-in-Chief; and an examination, wisely conducted before the board of military education, offers the best, and indeed the only mode of doing so. At the same time, as we are

averse to making this examination competitive, so we altogether object to fixing any arbitrary scale, without attaining to which the candidate must be rejected. The wise course to be pursued is this, that the examiners take as wide a range as possible; that they exact certain conditions as indispensable —such, for example, as a fair knowledge of arithmetic, of the elements of algebra and geometry, of descriptive geography and correct writing in English; but beyond this, that they look to general information, giving higher credits for an acquaintance with history, with the classics and modern languages, than for mathematics or physical science. The great object of fixing the age of entrance so late as sixteen is, that the youth may have the opportunity of obtaining the elements of a liberal education at a public school; and it should be the business of the examiners, by their mode of conducting these examinations, to promote that object.

The course in our preliminary college ought to extend over two years, of which the first should be devoted to pure science and to languages; the last to subjects at once professional and practical. Under the former head may be comprised arithmetic, geometry, algebra; geography, physical as well as descriptive; chemistry, natural history,

geology; mechanics; the French, German, Arabic, and Hindostanee languages; the two last voluntary, except for Indian cadets. Under the latter may be comprehended the application of all these sciences to special purposes — practical geometry, military drawing, surveying, military and civil architecture, *bridge-making*, pontooning, pyrotechnics, the fabrication and uses of arms, military history, with the general principles of the art of war; the writing of military memoirs, and the keeping of military accounts. Military history and strategy should, as much as possible, be studied through French and German text-books, partly because these languages are richer than our own in this species of literature, and partly because the students will thereby be rendered more familiar with the languages in which their text-books are written.

Twice in every year the schools should be examined, in order to satisfy the Commander-in-Chief and the country that teachers and pupils are alike doing their duty. The examinations should be conducted by the Board of Military Education, whom civilian assessors might assist; and a record should be kept, not only of the rate of progress which each student is making, but of the special sciences for which he exhibits a peculiar predilec-

tion; and according to this record, the students should have it in their power to select the particular branch of the service to which they might desire to be attached. Thus a taste for high mathematics, for chemistry, and mechanics, will find its best field of exercise with artillery; a taste for architecture, surveying, and mechanics, marks its possessor as intended by nature to become an engineer. It would be of the greatest advantage to the public service if young men, so distinguished, were encouraged to make choice respectively of the artillery and engineers, and to go off at the conclusion of their course to the two schools of application, of which we shall speak more at large in the sequel.

By following this practice, our infantry regiments would be supplied with ensigns, well instructed in the theory of their profession, and eighteen years of age complete. But as it does not always follow that youths qualified in other respects are, in their moral and even their physical habits, suited for a military life, it might be well to consider a first commission as, in every instance, probationary, till six months' experience at a depôt or with a regiment had satisfied both the young subaltern and his commanding officer that the former had been guided by a sound judgment in making choice of

his profession. This rule should hold good, as well with lads sent out from our probationary school as with young men passing by direct examination from civil to military life, and when confirmed, all should alike be permitted to reckon their probationary half-year as part of their service as commissioned officers.

The second of the schools which we hope to see established is a Cavalry School, through which all young men desirous of serving in that arm, or appointed to it by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, should be required to pass. They might enter it either from the preliminary school, or directly from civil life, though not without submitting to the same sort of examination which infantry aspirants of both classes are required to pass. A year would probably suffice to communicate to them as large an amount of special instruction as is necessary. But the instruction should be at once minute and carefully impressed upon them. Cavalry tactics, including the duties of outposts and patrols, the manège, the anatomy and habits of the horse, farriery, agricultural chemistry, saddlery, horse-shoeing; all these, not less than the mysteries of grooming and feeding, should be brought home to the student's understanding.

Professors of fortification, of military drawing, and of the great art of war, would not, of course, be withheld from this or from any of our military seminaries. But the main business of cavalry students should be with the management of cavalry. For thus only may we hope to deliver ourselves from the charge which continental nations bring against us, that with the best horses and the bravest men in the world we turn out a cavalry inferior to theirs in everything, except the crowning operation of the charge.

Students should enter the cavalry school as cornets, their rank, temporary so long as they continue there, to be confirmed to them on joining their regiments.

We come now to the school of practical application for the Artillery, which we should be disposed to feed, as much as possible, from our preliminary school — not compelling any youth to undertake that service against his will, but encouraging such to prefer it as have manifested, while under instruction, a taste for the arts and sciences with which artillery is especially connected. There can be no room for hesitation in fixing the local situation of this seminary. It could not be better placed than at Woolwich, where every appliance necessary

to the study of artillery, in all its branches, is already provided. But the course, while it extended over two years, should, we think, embrace several important subjects which have not heretofore been considered among us as in any way connected with the duties of an artillerist. For example, we concur in the views of the best French authorities, that the construction of their own batteries, and the management of the pontoon train and of flying bridges, should be handed over to the artillery. Common sense appears indeed to point out that he who is to fight a battery ought not to depend upon somebody else to select its site, and to superintend its construction; while to separate the pontoons from the only arm which an unbridged river or canal must successfully stop, is an arrangement for the adoption of which no good reason can be assigned. But we must not be tempted into the consideration of details, to deal fairly by which would require far greater space than we can command. It is enough to point out that, besides going farther than he has yet done into high mathematics and mechanics, and making himself master of the operations in arsenals, foundries, forges, and manufactories of small-arms, the artillerist must be initiated into subjects which cannot be more concisely enumerated than by

transferring to these pages the headings of twenty chapters from an extremely interesting and valuable work, the *Aide-Mémoire à l'Usage des Officiers d'Artillerie.*

"Chap. 1.—Cannon:—Their names; their principal Dimensions and Weights; their Verification; the Examination of new Pieces; their Proof; Rebushing; the Repairs of Cannon; the Spiking and Unspiking of Cannon; the Manner of rendering Cannon unserviceable; the Preservation of Ordnance; Composition of Brass Guns.

"Chap. 2.—Projectiles:—Their Names, Dimensions, and Weights; the Mode of examining them; their Manufacture; the Furnaces; Mode of Preservation of Projectiles.

"Chap. 3.—Gun-Carriages, Waggons, Equipage:—Names and Varieties; principal Dimensions, Weights, and various Data regarding them; Portions formed of Wood and of Iron; Painting; Preservation of Carriages.

"Chap. 4.—Tools and Instruments:—Names; principal Dimensions and Weights; Mode of Stowage in the Magazines.

"Chap. 5.—Gunpowder:—Constituents; Manufacture; Packing; Proof; Analysis; Re-storing; Preservation; Powder Magazines; Transport of Gunpowder.

"Chap. 6.—Ammunition and Laboratory Compositions:—Laboratories; Raw Materials; Small-Arm Ammunition; Gun Ammunition; Matches; Compositions for giving Light and for causing Conflagrations; Percussion Caps; Preservation in the Magazines; breaking up Cartridges; emptying loaded Shells.

"Chap. 7.—Raw Materials, and various articles required for Constructions and as Stores:—Wood, Selections of, Preservation of; Wrought Iron, Examination of; Cast Iron, Kinds of; Steel; Sheet Iron; Tin; Files; Preservation of Metals in the Magazines; Charcoal; Coal and Coke; Cordage; Tar.

"Chap. 8.—Packing Ammunition, Stores, Tools, &c.:—Weights of Gun Carriages and Waggons loaded; Ammunition of Field-pieces; Tools; Stores; Spare Articles: Siege Carriages.

"Chap. 9.—The Horse:—Purchase; Feeding; Care; Shoeing; Harness for Horses, for Mules; Storing of Harness; Disinfection of Stables and of Harness.

"Chap. 10.—Composition of a Field-Equipment:—Armament of Fortresses and of Coast Batteries.

"Chap. 11.—March of Field Batteries; Parks and Convoys.

"Chap. 12.—*Manœuvres de Force* (Repository Exercises):—With Field Guns; with Siege and Garrison Guns; Use of the Gun; Cordage used in these Operations.

"Chap. 13.—Construction of Batteries:—Materials employed; Siege Batteries; Batteries of Guns and Howitzers of the First Parallel; Mortar and Stone-Mortar Batteries; Breaching and Counter Batteries; Armament and Supply of the Batteries; *Difficulties to be overcome in the Construction of Batteries*; Batteries in Fortresses; Coast Batteries; Batteries in the Field; principal Dimensions of a Fortification; Data relative to the chief Operations of the Attack.

"Chap. 14.—Notes on the Service in time of War; Service in the Field; Service in a Siege; Service in a Fortress; Service in Coast Defences.

"Chap. 15.—Tables of Practice, and Notes on the Effects of Gunpowder and of Projectiles:—Field Guns; Siege and Garrison Guns; Coast Guns: Relation between the Charge, the Velocity, &c.; Penetration of Projectiles; Fire with Red-hot Shot; Mines.

"Chap. 16.—Military Bridges:—Names and principal Dimensions; Equipment of a Bridge of Thirty Pontoons; Launching; Management; Passage of Troops; Operations; Modes of anchoring; casting and heaving Anchors; Reconnaissance of Places to cross; Pontoon Bridges; Bridge of ordinary Boats;

Raft Bridges; Trestle Bridges; Flying Bridges; Pile Bridges; Rope Bridges; Floating Fenders; Preservation, Repair, Destruction of Bridges.

"Chap. 17.—Small Arms: —Names of the most recent Arms; Tables relative to the Arms actually in use; Differences between the various Models hitherto used; Examination, Repairs, and Preservation of Arms; Preservation of the Arms in the Magazines (in charge of the Artillery); Packing of Arms; Results of Experiments; Notes on different Systems of Arms; Armament of different Corps of the Army; Table of the Principal Dimensions of Small Arms.

"Chap. 18.—Field Fortification.

"Chap. 19.—Military Reconnaissances.

"Chap. 20.—Useful Data."

If such a course as this be not sufficient of itself to fill up two years of a tolerably studious life, we must acknowledge ourselves unable to take the measure of a common man's capacity. That it has so much in common with the pursuits of an engineer, as to justify the attempt to educate, even in part, the artillerist and the engineer together, appears to us to be a very untenable opinion. We are, therefore, strong advocates for a separate Engineer College, which, as well as the Artillery College, we should, as much as possible, feed from the preliminary school — encouraging youths to enter it who had exhibited special tastes for architecture, the application of steam-power, drawing, mechanics, geodesy, and topography. The school

itself might advantageously be placed at Chatham, or wherever else the headquarters of the regiment of Royal Engineers are established, and the instruction should be as practical as the nature of the service seems to require. Besides plan-drawing and surveying, geology, hydrostatics, and astronomy, the young engineer should be instructed in drawing and levelling lands, in the construction of viaducts, bridges, and docks, in the steam-engine, in civil architecture, as well as in permanent and field fortification; in carpentry and mason's work; in mining and sapping; in metallurgy and projectiles. In a word, no art, the application of which is likely to be called for by armies in the field, or by the progress of civilisation at home, ought to be altogether a sealed book to him.

We do not see any necessity for carrying engineers into the arcana of high mathematics; but besides being rendered eminently practical, ready at every pinch with a remedy for the evil, they should be trained to command and manage men, a sort of lore which they will never learn, unless, after quitting school, they be attached at intervals to companies and battalions, and called upon to do duty with them. All young men making choice of the artillery and engineer services, whether passed out

of the primary school or admitted after examination into the school of application from civil life, should enter as lieutenants with local rank — such rank to be confirmed and full time allowed after they have completed their course of training, and been appointed to do duty with their respective corps.

The course of the engineer school, like that of the artillery, should extend over two years, and there should be periodical examinations in both. We would assign the same limits to the staff school, the examination for admission into which ought to be strictly competitive; and in order to qualify officers for this, arrangements must be made for affording to them opportunities of study, while doing duty with their regiments, as well in the colonies as at home. Mr. Sidney Herbert, in his speech of June, 1856, has sufficiently explained how this is to be done. At the headquarters of every division, or at convenient places at home and abroad, officers of instruction should be stationed, who, by lectures and otherwise, may guide their comrades in their endeavours to render themselves accomplished soldiers. For it forms part of our plan that promotion shall not take place, from the junior to the senior ranks, without an examination;

that such examination, besides being strictly professional, shall be conducted entirely upon paper; and that the questions propounded by the central board in London, and circulated through the whole extent of the empire, shall be answered everywhere in the presence of a committee of staff officers, *without any reference on the part of the candidates* to books or notes, or even to hints or suggestions from men better instructed than themselves. We need scarcely enter more into the details of this scheme, which has been sufficiently discussed in the House of Commons and elsewhere. But we may observe, that after the machine is fairly launched, *it ought to be exclusively to those* whose papers in the division-schools had merited the highest marks of commendation, that the privilege of competing for entrance into the staff school should be conceded.

The numerical establishment of the staff school must, of course, depend upon the limits which are assigned to staff service in our army. We ourselves would extend these limits, so that they should embrace every officer not employed in regimental duty; including military secretaries, adjutant, and quartermasters-general, majors of brigade, commandants, and professors at military colleges, divi-

sional officers of instruction, and aides-de-camp. A considerable inducement to professional study would thereby be held out to the whole army, even in time of peace; while for war we should be prepared, by having at our disposal a staff not only well instructed but numerous. Nor let it be said that for such posts as those of *military secretary*, major of brigade, and aide-de-camp, business habits, with personal activity, constitute qualifications sufficient. An aide-de-camp who is not so instructed as to understand the purpose of the order which he carries, a brigade major who is unable to help his brigade out of a military difficulty, and a military secretary whose opinion is worth nothing except in the diction of a letter, have no business to be employed with an army in the field, or to enjoy any special privileges in home quarters. To qualify for each of these situations, therefore, as well as for employment on the general staff, an officer ought to pass with credit through the staff school; and the school should be framed on such a scale as to undertake the education of at least one hundred students at a time.

In two years, divided into four terms, the course of this school should be completed. Five-and-twenty vacancies will thus occur at the close of

every term, and officers, desirous of competing for the privilege of supplying them, should appear before the board of military education, and have their acquirements tested. By and by, when our division-schools have come fully into operation, only the individuals who have most distinguished themselves at these will be summoned; but in the meanwhile the school should be open to all who may be disposed to undergo the ordeal of a sharp professional examination, and to try their strength with other competitors.

Into the detail of studies to be pursued during these years of residence in the school, it is not necessary to enter. They should include everything relating to the management and administration of armies; and not alone of armies in general, but of British armies in particular. Hence the museum should be rich in the appliances required to embark and disembark troops — in the models of boats, stages, pontoons, bridges, corduroy and other roads; in tents, huts, waggons, panniers, and hospital equipments. The topographical department should include well-executed maps of the seats of all the great wars of modern times, and the library should be furnished with military history, and treatises on tactics and strategy, in all languages. There should

be professors of geology, metallurgy, military drawing and surveying, of military administration, of artillery, engineering, cavalry and infantry manœuvres; and a sufficient stud of horses should be at the command of the students, wherewith to execute military surveys, with or without instruments.

Four examinations should take place between the commencement and the close of the course. To assist them in conducting these, the members of the board might be allowed to call in assessors; but they and they alone should undertake the responsibility of the issues. And a record being preserved of the places which the aspirants have taken on each occasion, individuals should be recommended for staff employment according to this order of merit. Meanwhile, to qualify for such employment, officers, on leaving the staff school, should be attached for one year to each arm of the service in which they had not previously served; and when appointed to the staff itself, they should become supernumerary in the regiments from which they had been taken. This would at once facilitate promotion in the army generally, and hinder the regimental duties which the staff officers ought to perform from being thrown upon their comrades. And the more to stimulate our young men to study, it would be well

if, at the end of five years, every staff officer, with the exception of those at headquarters, should receive a step of rank, and return to regimental duty. If there be no vacancy in his own, or any other corps, he might serve as a supernumerary till such occurred; for promotion, except by purchase, should not be given out of this line, so long as any officer, returned from staff employ, remained unposted.

One word more, in order to avoid misapprehension regarding the terms on which gentlemen seeking commissions from civil life ought to be admitted. In every case they, like candidates for admission into military schools, should be nominated by the Commander-in-Chief; but in order to secure to the army the description of officers whom it needs, they ought in every case to be subjected to a pass-examination. We have read, with more of regret than of surprise, a paper put out by the Royal Commissioners with reference to this matter. It is, of course, what it professes to be — the exhibition of a temporary expedient only. But even a temporary expedient ought not to be so framed as either to mislead the public regarding the ultimate intentions of the Government, or to bring those who propound it into contempt. Whatever we exact from the youths who enter a preliminary college as

qualifications indispensable to their bearing the Queen's commission, we must exact from those who decline to enter it. They must have completed the eighteenth year of their age, and be passed, both medically and by the Board of Military Education, in all the subjects which students are required to master, before receiving their commissions. Such as desire to join the infantry will, under such circumstances, accomplish their wish at once. Such as aspire to become officers of cavalry, or artillery, or engineers, must be content to do duty for a while, like other aspirants, in the practical school of the arm which they are ambitious to adorn; for the adoption of any other course — the admission to direct appointments on terms more easy than are exacted from youths who receive such instruction in the preliminary college — will defeat the very purpose for which the college was set up. It will insure to the British army a body of officers, of whom only a small minority will be educated men; and narrow thereby, to a very obnoxious extent, the field of choice whence, in time of need, competent general and staff officers are to be selected.

We are well aware that we have by no means exhausted this very important subject. To do so, indeed, would require a volume. But our purpose

will be sufficiently served if what we have written contribute in any degree to lighten the labours of those who have been appointed to deal with it in a practical form. They may rest assured that, though the eye of the public be upon them, it watches their proceedings in no jealous spirit. We trust that they will produce a plan which shall prove at once manageable and comprehensive; for no other will go down, either with the Parliament or the people. To warn them against the very appearance of jobbing — to caution them not to hold open a door, however narrow, to influence and favouritism, we believe to be unnecessary; for against so grievous a mistake, the high characters of the gentlemen composing the Board of Education, and still more that of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, offer sufficient security. It remains, therefore, only to wish them success in their undertaking, and to the army itself all the good which cannot but result from such a work when it shall have been well completed.

THE END.

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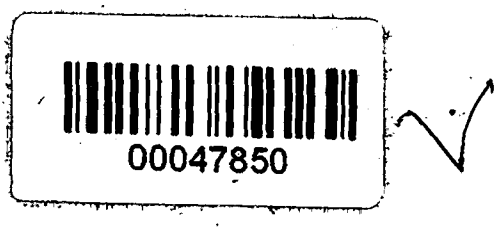

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